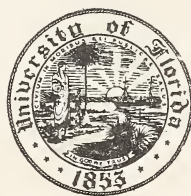


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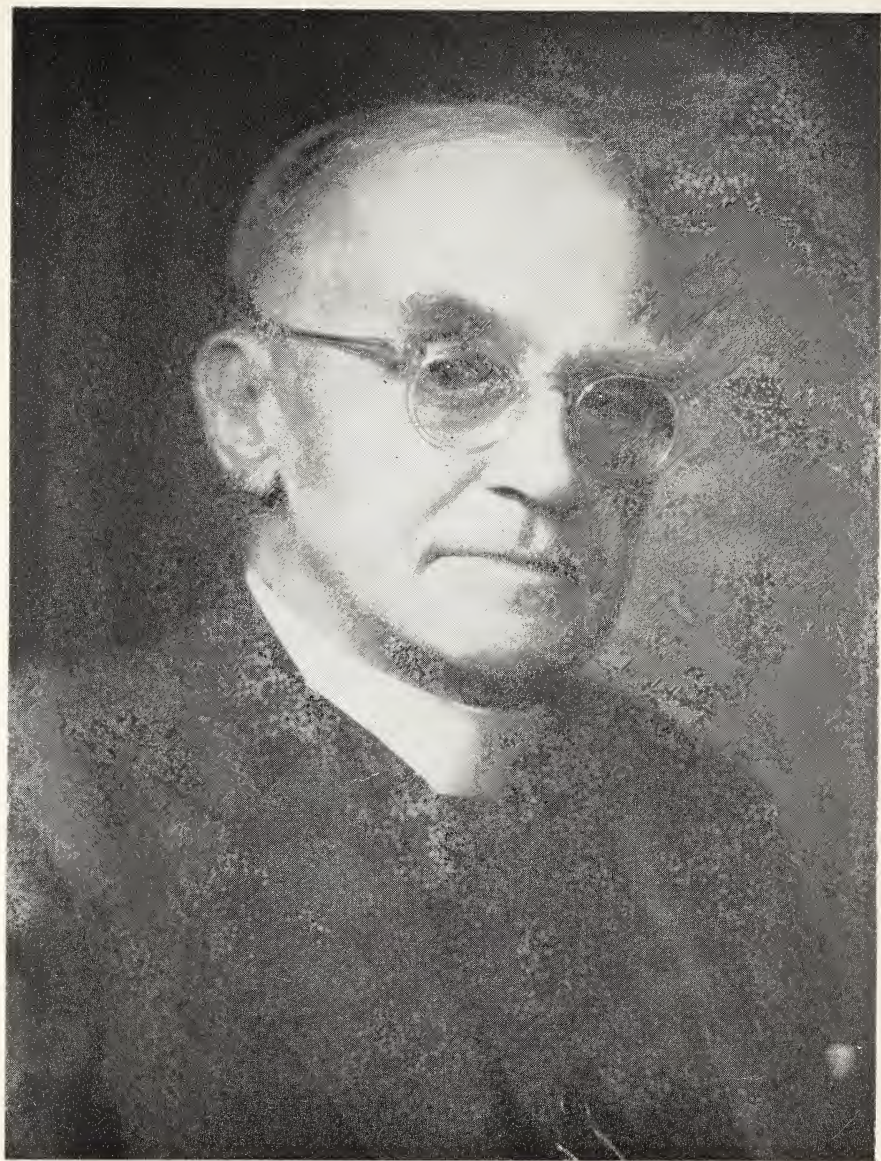
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E. Clowes Chorley

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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

VOL. XV

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No. 1

EDITORIAL

With this number HISTORICAL MAGAZINE begins the fifteenth volume, fifteenth year, of continuous publication under the same Editor-in-Chief—the Rev. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, Historiographer of the Church—who initiated its original authorization in the General Convention of 1931, and who has guided its destinies through the worst of world-wide depressions and through the most terrible of wars.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is unique among the publications of the Anglican Communion. Here, as in some other things, the American Church has been a pioneer, and not a follower. Over 5,000 pages of invaluable historical material have been published in its pages during the past fourteen years; many have had their interest in American Church history awakened or re-awakened; many bishops, presbyters and laymen have been stimulated to productive historical scholarship; and the many unsolicited letters which reach the Editor's desk testify to its value and usefulness to the Church.

Contemporaneously with the appearance of this first number of Volume XV of the Magazine will be published Dr. Chorley's Hale Lectures, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*, originally delivered at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary. This is Dr. Chorley's *magnum opus*, the fruit of many years of research and reflection; and we venture to prophesy that it will prove to be an epochal book among American Church histories. The reader is referred to Bishop Parsons' article on this work in this issue, but especially to the book itself.

In writing this editorial, in insisting upon reproducing Dr. Chorley's portrait as the frontispiece of this number, and in publishing Bishop Parsons' review of *Men and Movements* as the first article in this issue, the Associate Editors have unanimously overruled the objections of the Editor-in-Chief. In this particular instance of insubordination, our readers, we feel confident, will side with the Associate Editors.

G. MACLAREN BRYDON,
EDGAR L. PENNINGTON,
WALTER H. STOWE,
WILFRED R. H. HODGKIN,
DUBOSE MURPHY,
FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

THE HALE LECTURES

Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church, by E. Clowes Chorley. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1946.

A REVIEW

*By Edward L. Parsons**

Dr. Chorley has made a notable contribution to the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His narrative turns not on events but on persons; not on movements but on the men who lead the movements or who in some special way symbolize them. Furthermore it is an objective narrative. "The treatment throughout is purely historical, not critical," says the author in the preface. He has achieved both these purposes with marked success. It would be hard to tell after reading the book carefully just what his views may be. One learns readily enough that he is wide-minded, that he is sympathetic and understanding and that therefore whatever his views he is not partisan. But Jarratt and Meade and Griswold stand out no more vividly than Hobart and Ravenscroft and Whittingham. DeKoven is treated with the same admiration for his ability and courage as is Washburn or Brooks.

The narrative is objective and since it turns on persons necessarily overlooks much which would appear in an ordinary history. The growth of the Church, its constitutional and other changes, its missionary work, its concern with the unity movement and its influence so far as it has had any upon the life of the nation appear only incidentally. Indeed the scope of the book is pretty fairly limited to the typical personalities, in the struggle (a perennial struggle) of the various groups, schools of thought or, if you will, parties in the Church. If one wants to know about them, to share their views, to have an insight into what has concerned the leaders of Church life during a century and a half, here is the book. It is vital, interesting, revealing. The distinguished names become real persons.

One plunges at the start with Devereux Jarratt into the religious depression of the epoch of the Revolution. In spite of the Great Awakening and the later revivals, the state of religion in the colonies and in the

*Bishop of California, retired.

newly founded nation was appallingly bad. Morals were at a low ebb. Nowhere were they worse than in Virginia. It was there that Jarratt, who died in 1801, did his prophesying. It was there that with Meade and Moore the Evangelicals began to stir the dead. (Marshall thought the Church in Virginia too far gone to be revived.) Griswold carried the same stirring message to New England. Later came Chase and McIlvaine, Bedell, Lee, Wilmer and a host of others.

These men preached the need of a Saviour for souls utterly lost; the vicarious atonement as a satisfaction of divine justice and justification by faith. They accepted the Prayer Book in full, and the historical view of the ministry as expressed in the preface to the ordinal. They accepted likewise the sacraments as expounded in catechism and articles. Heaven and hell had a large place in their preaching. They sought to bring men to a personal religious experience. They were primarily concerned with souls. As "Churchmen" they were undoubtedly careless about architecture, believed that prayer meetings served a real purpose, recognized true ministries of God wherever the fruits of the spirit were found.

The early High Churchmen who came next into view also played a great part in awakening the dormant life of the Church. They are admirably pictured. Hobart, who left an indelible impress upon the life of the whole Church, stands first. A vigorous, impetuous, at times somewhat violent personality, he stormed up and down the great State of New York, preaching, to the consternation of many staid Churchmen, without notes, utterly unafraid to speak his mind, profoundly concerned with the education of the ministry—the General Seminary was his child—over-sensitive about the prerogatives of a bishop; but commanding the respect and admiration of all. Grouped with him are Ravenscroft coming late to his ministry, Whittingham going to Baltimore from the General Seminary, scholar and gentleman, Jarvis, Brownell, John Williams of Connecticut, Kip of California, H. U. Onderdonk, G. W. Doane and John H. Hopkins. Presbyters like Breck and Adams and William Crosswell (the last was called "a Hooker, Ferrar and Herbert combined"), added lustre to the cause. It is a fine group of noble and devoted men.

What manner of Gospel did they preach? we ask. Their fundamental theology of salvation was much the same as that of the Evangelicals. Both built on the depravity of human nature, the sinfulness of man and his need of a Saviour. Both for the most part repudiated a Calvinism which would limit in any way the saving mission of Christ. "Christ died for all," says Hobart. Both stood adamant against the errors of Rome. Auricular confession, Mariolatry and invocation of saints had no place in their views. Baptism brought no magical change.

The Holy Communion was not a *sacrifice*, and "mass" was a term no Prayer Book Churchman should use.

What separated them from their Evangelical brethren was their deep concern for the Church as an institution. They believed that its threefold ministry was of our Lord's institution and the Church, so ordered, offered the appointed method of salvation. They *could* believe that saving faith in Christ is impossible where there is no communion with a bishop, but, as always in every group which holds such rigid views, the ignorance, misunderstanding and the like upon the part of heretics and schismatics were believed to extenuate their error. Protestant Churches are not part of the Catholic Church, but God may in his goodness and mercy save Protestants.

One cannot but think at times how lonely these High Churchmen were. They belonged to a small body which in 1850, for example, had one communicant to 235 of the population. On one side was Rome; on the other the Protestants; and only the Episcopalians were right. The Evangelicals had at least contacts with the Protestant world and rejoiced in their own Protestantism. All this Dr. Chorley brings out with apt quotations and a keen eye for the things that count.

Both these groups were fundamentalist in our modern phrase. They accepted the inerrancy of Scripture and believed their position could be proved from Scripture. They did not find it easy to work together. The "Clash and Conflict" (chapter X) became ominous with the growing influence of the Oxford Tractarian movement and as the author so well makes clear, the trouble cut across party lines, for men like Whittingham and Doane, greatly moved by Oxford, were outspoken in denunciation of Rome-ward tendencies, condemned Bishop Ives, who in 1852 went over to Rome, deplored the insidious Romanizing tendencies among some young clergy and seminarians. But in the main the perennial conflict still carried on as between high and low. It culminates in the ritual controversies of the 60's and 70's and the Reformed Episcopal schism.

Dr. Chorley has brought the story of the new Broad Church party into the picture before that of the so-called ritualistic controversies. There is obviously no fixed chronological order in these matters. The trends of thought run along side by side. It must be noted, however, that these Broad Churchmen never really constituted a party. The author quotes an admirable statement by Dr. Samuel McConnell to confirm the fact. What they did we may perhaps sum up in a paragraph.

They carry on the Hellenist tradition. Allen's *Continuity of Christian Thought* is typical. They are descendants of Clement and Origen, of Abelard, Erasmus and More. To use a phrase of Matthew Arnold's

(son of one of the first of the 19th century Broad Churchmen) they are eager to "let intelligence play upon" these problems of religion. They believe that the revelation of God continues, that the Incarnation is its culmination but not its end, and that the Eternal Word still lights every man who comes into the world. They found, as Dr. Chorley points out, their contemporary inspiration in the English group of which Maurice, Robertson and Kingsley were the leaders. That group went back to Coleridge, the clue to whose most significant contribution lies perhaps in the phrase which Tulloch quotes, "The Evangelicals brought religion to man from the outside." Coleridge would bring it from within. So would Maurice and Robertson. They had no illusions about the sinfulness of man. Some of their followers did; but the principle they emphasized was that Christ comes not to restore something completely wrecked and lost, but something which sin had hidden, the real self. They appealed to men not with pictures of heaven and hell, but by recalling them to their real selves. "When he came to himself" was a favorite text. So paralleling the English movement we have in America Vinton and Washburn, Smith and Parks and the Cambridge scholars, who perhaps have not quite enough recognition in the book: Mulford, Allen and Nash. Towering above them all is Brooks, of whom it used to be said that in New England in the 80's and 90's no matter what church you entered, Episcopal or other, you heard him preach. The voice might be unfamiliar, but the sermon was Phillips Brooks.

As the Broad Church came into view and aroused apprehension upon the part of both Evangelicals and High Churchmen, the ritualistic controversies came to a head. The rise of the new Anglo-Catholic movement is the contributing cause. The controversies bring us into a tangled web of struggling parties, a tangle which Dr. Chorley untangles with admirable skill; but there was nothing tangled about these new prophets themselves. DeKoven, Ewer, Ritchie, all stand out clearly. DeKoven is unquestionably first in character and ability and in the extraordinary eloquence with which he presented his cause. He was a great educator and a great leader.

These men had moved a vast distance from Hobart. Their sacramental teaching was the center of their faith. They touched Rome. "The gong sounds," says Ritchie, "Jesus is coming." Again it sounds. "He has come." The Prayer Book is patient of many views, but the American Book is distinctly not patient of such a view. The book is Eastern, not Latin in its theology. But to go back to the controversy. These early leaders are followed by men like Prescott, Batterson, Maturin, Grafton and McGarvey, who for years figured in the forefront of controversy. But the matter came decisively to a head in the con-

ventions of the early 70's which tried to settle questions of vestments and ritual by canon. The Church discovered two things: The first was that it could not legislate successfully on these matters. The second that in any case it was the wrong way to go at it. It is significant, however, that the bishops' pastoral letter of 1871, noting the effect of ceremonial and deprecating certain advanced practices, was adopted unanimously. The bishops were not ready to support tendencies which looked too definitely to Rome.

It is during the period of this legislative controversy that we come to the "Passing of the Low Churchmen" (Chapter XIV). They went out with Cummins and his followers in the Reformed Episcopal schism. The story is admirably told. The futility of it all is clear enough to-day, but one can sympathize with these men who seemed to see everything for which they stood swept away. They did not know that they belonged to a past age.* And so we come to the last chapter, "The Present and the Future."

The book is really concerned with the nineteenth century. The sketch of the present is brief. The prophecy of the future is offered with the modest disclaimer of infallibility which has added to the charm of the entire book.

As regards the present the most obvious contrasts with the past are two. The violence of controversy has passed. The opponents in ecclesiastical duels no longer call each other seducers, traitors, and the like. Christian men are trying to understand one another better, and with this change has come the vanishing of the old parties. We have no longer High, Low, Broad and Modernist. We have instead two fairly distinct groups, the Anglo-Catholics and the Liberal Evangelicals. Dr. Chorley includes under the former the conservatives, the pro-Roman and the Liberal Catholics. He thinks the pro-Roman group, very definite in England, is very small in America. That may be true if we mean men who are openly working to bring the Episcopal Church back to submission to Rome. It is hardly true if we mean clergy (and a few laity) whose thoughts are always turning Romeward, to whom Rome's ways are a guide, whose ecclesiastical language is essentially "Latin" as distinguished from that of the great Anglican tradition.

Nor is it too certain that all the conservative High Churchmen would want to be called Anglo-Catholics. Except in the wider sense

*Note: In reference to Dr. Chorley's comment upon the validity of Dr. Cheney's consecration it should be noted that the late Bishop of Eau Claire (Dr. Wilson), acting in connection with reunion negotiations, put the fact of validity beyond question. His report was sent out to all bishops of the Anglican Communion, since the Lambeth Conference of 1888 had, in view of the adverse report of an American committee, left the matter in the air.

which includes all Anglicans. It is certain that not all the Liberal Evangelicals want to be called liberal. Indeed, their spearhead organization has dropped the word liberal and is called the Episcopal Evangelical Fellowship. At any rate it has no special monopoly of liberalism which is widespread and growing in the Liberal Catholic group. Dr. Chorley is certainly right that as all intelligent Evangelicals are essentially Anglo-Catholics so in these days all intelligent Anglo-Catholics are liberal and evangelical. It is the extremists who engage in unpleasant and often un-Christian controversy. Where intelligence and Christian love are dominant we have precisely what Dr. Chorley describes as two streams whose healing waters are "mingling and alike making glad the city of God." The "mingling" is a bit optimistic if we mean the working out of a theological position which both can accept, for there have always been these opposing types of thought. The difference is deep rooted. Doctrinal agreement which must be sought earnestly, can at this time mean only hopeful approximation. But "mingling" is not too optimistic if we mean working and worshipping together.

Such is the story of this 150 years as Dr. Chorley presents it to us. It is now the function of the reviewer, since the author disclaims any such attempt, to make some appraisal of its meaning in the life of the Episcopal Church and of its place in the larger life of Christianity.

We may begin then by emphasizing the truism that the Episcopal Church is not a small isolated group untouched by the world. Far from it. The whole story can be understood only as it is read in the light of the world background. The nineteenth century saw the last long struggle between the individualism which came to power with what we call the modern era and the collectivism which dominates the era upon which we have now entered. In church and state the dominant collectivism of the Middle Ages, the thinking in terms of the group, broke down upon men's demand for freedom. In the Renaissance as in the Reformation it was the individual who counted. For centuries men had looked to Church, to empire, to rulers, had read their destiny in terms laid down for them, had trusted it to the group, church, state, or community. Now they found *themselves*. They learned to trust themselves. They were concerned about themselves. Politically and ecclesiastically the whole great movement was spearheaded by the city man. It was bourgeois. It made the Industrial Revolution possible. It led up to the horrors of *laissez faire* (which, after all, were no worse than the steady misery of the peasant through the Middle Ages).

But in spite of its failures it was a magnificent period, which came to its climax in the imperialism of the late 19th century, but as that

century opened it was clear that a new age was being born. The pendulum was beginning to swing back. The demand of men for equilibrium would not be denied. Reaction from extreme individualism was inevitable. Ideals of collectivism began to creep into social thinking. Socialistic experiments began to appear. In literature the Romantic movement turned to the Middle Ages. Philosophy with Hegel as a protagonist saw the universe as a vast unfolding of universal reason and science brought the world of nature and of men into an organic unity through the doctrine of evolution. This movement was all infinitely accelerated later by the technical discoveries which have made the world one community whether men want it so or not.

But of that later. The point is that the individualism which had dominated the thought of men for so long was fighting (during the 19th century) its last struggle. It went out with the world wars. Men, torities everywhere excepted, think no longer of finding their freedom save within the community.

One small group, important for us Episcopalians, but small in the vast human family, shared the same fate. They were an early casualty. The great Evangelicals, the men whose concern was with souls, who spoke to individuals and warned them of the wrath to come, these men represented in the Church the last great struggle of the individualist. They were the Manchester School of the Church. They rendered great service. They woke the Episcopal Church. They "saved" thousands of men and women. But as a *school* they were fighting a losing battle.

It is precisely from the same underlying social conditions that the Tractarian movement arose in Oxford, and that in England, as in America, it found a quick response from men like Hobart, who had cherished a tradition which laid far greater stress on the collective or, let us say, in ecclesiastical terms the catholic aspect of Christianity. This came down through Hooker and the Carolinian divines who saw the Church as the nation worshipping God. One must always remember that within any great social movement there are always survivals or prophecies of other movements which had or may have validity for life.

The early High Churchmen and the later Tractarian moved from the group to the individual just as the Evangelical moved from the individual to the group. The Evangelical of the Episcopal Church did not think of it as a "gathered Church" in the modern sense. He believed it was organic, the Body of Christ. But it was, as it were, to be taken for granted. The vital matter was the atonement and justification by faith. The vital matter to Hobart was the Church, to make clear its meaning, its authority. He moved from the Church to the

individual. He found his freedom by accepting what the Church laid upon him. If that be true (and no one can offer interpretations of this kind in any dogmatic spirit), then the whole Catholic movement is expressing ecclesiastically the dominant social movement of the present age. One would expect to see the Reformed Episcopal Church live on only in a sort of vestigial fashion. One would expect to see Anglo-Catholicism grow. One would expect, as we shall note later, the world-wide unity movement.

But now as we think of the last century and its conflicts, what about the Broad Church group? We have suggested the fundamental principle on which these men worked. What they brought to the Church was of immeasurable importance. Just as the political and social sciences of the new age had, and still have, to fit into the problem of preserving freedom within the community, all the vast technological discoveries of that age, so some one had to fit into the ecclesiastical world all that historical and natural science had brought to men's thinking. It was the Broad Churchmen who did it. Like Colet and Erasmus they opened their minds to the new learning. They helped the Church to understand that evolution had not deprived God of His creative function and that historical criticism, destroying the doctrine of the inerrancy of Scripture, has given us something immensely more valuable. They lifted theology above the proof-text level. They showed that the origins of ecclesiastical institutions are matters of history and not of theology, a lesson as yet by no means universally learned. By "letting intelligence play upon" the whole Church scene they helped to open ways by which Liberals Catholics and Liberal Evangelicals can come together and thus help the Episcopal Church or, let us say, the Anglican Communion to fulfil its destiny.

Dr. Chorley does not deal with this question in detail. He is content, as we have noted, to close with the hopeful prayer that in due time we may have a Church at unity in itself, Catholic, Evangelical and Liberal. But, true to his declared purpose, he leaves to reader (and reviewer) speculation on the conditions by which this unity may be won and on the relation of it all to total Christianity. If, then, we venture on that question our first move takes us back immediately to the relation of the parties within the Church to the underlying social movements of the epoch. We have noted the pendulum swing from the individualism, which came to dominance four centuries ago, to the new collectivism of today. The one emphasises freedom, the other community or social welfare. The extreme form of one is *laissez faire*, competitive capitalism, the ruthless grasp of individual group or nation for power. The extreme form of the other is the totalitarian state. There order,

authority, the institution stand first. Human society as it struggles along its hard journey toward the just state is always swinging toward one extreme or the other. It is always seeking equilibrium. That is to say that the social body always checks itself. The totalitarian state breaks down sooner or later. Men will have freedom. That is what these years of warfare have been telling us. But they have also said that freedom must be in community; it must be found in cooperation, in the life of total society, in the service of the common good. If in the name of the common good you try to stamp freedom out you will destroy the very society you have built. That is what always in the end happens to the Hitlers and Mussolinis.

It must be remembered also that while society as a whole swings one way and then another and every individual is conditioned by the whole body, yet it is individuals who make up the body and these individuals differ in their approach and attitude. We know them well. The conservative is concerned with the institution. The liberal is concerned with freedom. One man rejoices to see authority in action, is glad to accept authoritative decisions. Another rebels.

Turn to the Church and one finds in it the same story, the same kind of conflicts, the same kind of issues and the same conditions upon which any kind of permanent equilibrium may be based.

The Church is a society, a fellowship, an organic body which is the prophecy of the fellowship of all mankind. It is broken today as the world is broken. But like the world it is moving steadily to clearer understanding of its underlying unity. The unity movement in the Church parallels, is indeed part of the collective movement of society, and its problem is fundamentally precisely the same. It has to bring into one "outward and visible body" the conflicting interests of a thousand different groups. It has to subordinate those lesser loyalties to the wider loyalty of the whole body. It has to do this, giving full scope to men's demand for freedom. It must be social, collective, unified, but it must be free, diversified, rejoicing in the manifold life of personalities. It must, in other words, balance authority and liberty. It must bring together in one rich body the traditions of the elders and the surging rebellious demands of youth.

Real progress is being made. The change of tone in controversy which Dr. Chorley notes in the Episcopal Church is fairly universal. The association of the churches in various federations has revolutionized much of the Christian world. The World Council is slowly uniting in common work all non-Roman Christianity. Faith and Order and Life and Work, under the aegis of the World Council, study the questions of unity. The parallel to the secular world carries right through.

Just as at this moment the deepest and most searching question any nation has to ask is, how far must it go to make the unity of the world organization real, so the most searching question facing any church is precisely the same. That question is the ultimate test of its loyalty to Christ. The answer it makes measures its place in the Christian world. The answer it makes is in a certain sense determinative of its destiny.

What, then, are we to say of the Anglican Communion and its "parties"? The answer seems to be that of all the churches which are now moving closer together it has succeeded best in the solution of this old problem of authority and liberty. It has kept and loved the tradition of the elders. It has often frowned on the venturesome spirit of the prophet. It gave Wesley no welcome and balked at the opportunity offered here in America to hold his followers. But it did accept the Reformation. It did commit itself to essential freedom. It has always had its prophets. It has definitely brought together in common worship and organic ideals the two types of approach to all these problems. It has been genuinely Protestant and Catholic. In Muhlenberg's phrase, which Dr. Chorley quotes, the Church has been Evangelical Catholic.

All this is commonplace. Everybody knows it. But not everybody sees that in that union of opposites lies the sole justification for its existence as a Church. The Christian world of today is seeking unity. Its witness to Christ is badly obscured by its divisions. That unity can be found and preserved only in the balancing of authority and freedom, only (to put it in another way) in a freedom which is found within the whole body. The whole body is the Church of the past as well as of the present, the Church which preserves the eternal treasures of the past but accepts the new treasures of the present—new wineskins for the wine of the new age.

The Anglican Communion we have noted has actually succeeded in doing that somewhat better than any other body. It has recognized the fact and in a measure the responsibility which grows out of it. It has had perhaps more part in initiating the Ecumenical Movement than any other communion. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral and the 1920 Appeal to All Christian People are noble declarations. The Faith and Order Conference, and on a more limited scale, the specific efforts in South India and here in America, are gallant steps in the right direction. But often when it comes to the point of action we draw back, we temporize, we forget that our catholic unity is not ours to keep but to give. Our destiny is to lose ourselves in the larger life of the Catholic Church of the future.

But we cannot give it unless we keep and understand it ourselves. If we are to do that, we need, beside clear thinking and profound de-

votion, the utmost humility. We can see without any very great call upon our intelligence that none of our systems lasts very long in its original form, that, as our author reminds us more than once, no one today approaches these ecclesiastical and doctrinal questions in the way men approached them one hundred years ago. Recognizing that it is an oversimplification, and recognizing likewise the profound importance of clear and constant theological thinking we can see also that what persists is actually two types of mind, two kinds of persons, two opposite points of departure. The systems growing from each if carried to the extreme reach the dead end. Rome at the moment has great prestige. But a fascist system, in spite of all the saintly souls that have been nourished within it, cannot live forever in a democratic world. On the other side it is clear that there is no permanence, no eternal validity in those types of free Christianity which have exulted in their freedom from the shackles of the past, and have lost all contact with the truth that Christianity is a fellowship with an organic visible life.

Out of such considerations we grow humble. We lose our cocksureness. We are ready to admit values on the other side and to catch glimpses of truth which do not perfectly fit our own system. Discussion of these debatable questions to the point of controversy is wholesome, for it is truth-producing. Often in any Church life decisions must be made which will hurt one group or another. But the only thing which endangers the Church is when one side claims to have all the truth and aggressively endeavors to exclude the other.

If we can live in humility with one another we shall want to bring into all our theological thinking more and more sensitiveness to the deeper meanings of the positions of others and to let our intelligence play upon them. In whatever way we figure it out and whatever we may choose to say of that old Broad Church group, we must have the "liberal" spirit which guided its leaders.

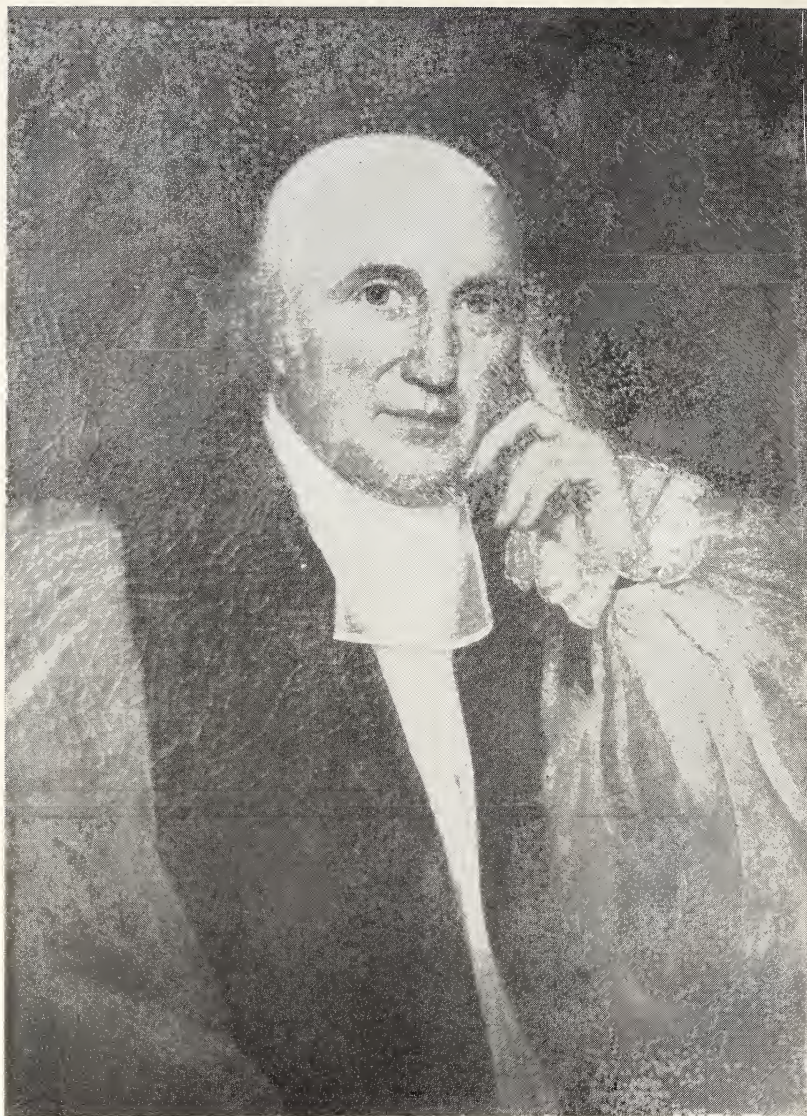
Indeed, one may venture a step further and suggest that that spirit is very closely associated with Coleridge's principle. It is abstract systems which make most of the trouble. Men are thinking of their theories and not of persons. They come at people from without not from within. The Barthian conception of revelation is a case in point just as Brunner's Divine-Human Encounter feels its way along from system to person. And that way is obviously the way of New Testament religion.

That is what Paul found in Christ. That is certainly the approach in the teaching of the Master. Indeed, it is in the words which the Fourth Gospel ascribes to our Lord himself that the Christian approach to all these problems is made clear. "I am the Way, the Truth and the

Life," says Jesus, and what does that mean other than that the truth which lives in his Personality far outweighs any abstract system of thought. If we all come to him, High Church and Low, Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic, and find in him our truth of life, no one of our systems can be final. Our widest catholicity cannot contain the fulness of Him in whom all things consist.

In that faith we worship God together. We work together. We picture in our small field the Catholic Church of the future in which all Christian men will have found their homes. With eagerness we turn to our destiny. That destiny is not fulfilled by sitting quietly in peace at home. It is fulfilled only as we surrender ourselves to the task of bringing to the divided Christian world the same kind of peace.

It seems almost inappropriate to say that with that word our review ends. It ended pages back. We have gone on far beyond the scope of Dr. Chorley's work. Yet perhaps that fact itself is the best tribute any reviewer can pay to any book. The work has been well done when it stimulates thought, opens questions and reveals the secrets of the future in the story of the past. Some such experience is sure to come to any one who reads this book.



Courtesy of William Ives Rutter, Jr.

THE RT. REV. ROBERT SMITH, D.D.
AUGUST 25, 1732—OCTOBER 28, 1801

DEACON: MARCH 7, 1756; PRIEST: DECEMBER 21, 1756

FIRST BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA
SEPTEMBER 13, 1795—OCTOBER 28, 1801

THE SIXTH IN THE AMERICAN SUCCESSION

ROBERT SMITH—FIRST BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA

*By Albert Sidney Thomas, S. T. D.,**

From the time of his election as rector of St. Philip's Church, Charles Town, until his death in 1801, Robert Smith was the leading figure in the life of the Church in South Carolina. He was born August 25, 1732, in the parish of Worstead, County of Norfolk, England, of "respectable parents." After careful preparation he was entered as a commoner at Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge. His education proceeded under the liberal patronage of William Mason, Esq., M. P. Having taken his bachelor's and master's degrees, he was elected to a fellowship and continued at Cambridge until he was ordained deacon by the bishop of Ely on March 7, 1756, and priest on December 21 following. While still in England, on nomination of Mr. Mason, he was engaged as assistant minister of St. Philip's Church. He arrived in Charles Town on November 3, 1757.¹ On his arrival in the city he was presented by the vestry with £200 currency as a mark of their esteem. During all the eventful years of his connection with St. Philip's until his death this esteem continued and developed.

At the time of Mr. Smith's arrival the royal province of South Carolina had attained the highest tide of its prosperity. The colony was something of a favorite with the Crown, its loyalty was unquestioned, the people were devoted to the mother country. The colony was well governed; and, notwithstanding the wars, the storms, the pestilences, it increased in numbers and grew rich. Josiah Quincy, who visited Charlestown about this time, testifies, "This town makes a most beautiful appearance as you come up to it, and in many respects a magnificent one, . . . I can only say in general that in grandeur, splendor of buildings, decorations, equipages, numbers of commerce, shipping, and indeed in almost everything it far surpasses all I ever saw or expected to see in America."² McCrady says, "The society of Charlestown was in a more developed condition, perhaps, than that of any city in America—unless it was that of Philadelphia."³ Provision was

*Retired Bishop of South Carolina.

¹*An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, by Frederick Dalcho. (Charleston, 1820), p. 214. Hereafter referred to as *Dalcho*.

²*History of South Carolina under Royal Government*, by Edward McCrady (New York, 1899), p. 395.

³*Ibid.*, p. 539.

made for the education of both the rich and the poor. The children of the more opulent were educated in England. So it was that most of the great leaders in the state at this time and during and after the Revolution were graduates of English universities. This custom undoubtedly operated against the establishment of any college in South Carolina before the Revolution. The standard of scholarship in Charlestown was asserted to be higher than that of any other city on the continent.⁴

The Church in the province was also well established at the time of Mr. Smith's arrival. The eight parishes of the Church Act of 1706, which established the Church of England in South Carolina, had grown to twenty. Many even of the country parishes had substantial and imposing church buildings. In fact the Church in South Carolina had become so strong that in 1766 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts was enabled to withdraw its assistance from the colony to which it had sent more missionaries than to any other province in America save New York.⁵

The Church in the city, which had been St. Philip's Parish, had so grown that a second parish was established in 1751, and St. Michael's Church was in course of erection when Mr. Smith arrived. Both of these city parishes usually had assistant ministers. Rev. Richard Clarke was the rector of St. Philip's at this time, but in a little more than a year, he resigned and Mr. Smith was elected rector. Thus at a very early age he assumed a position of very great responsibility as rector of the mother parish, and much the largest, of the colony. Of St. Philip's Church building at this time a contemporary writer (Woodmason, 1766) says, "This Church is allowed to be the most elegant religious edifice in British America."⁶ "The celebrated Edmund Burke, speaking of this Church says, it is spacious and executed in a very handsome taste, exceeding everything of that kind which we have in America."⁷ Woodmason says, "The great organ has sixteen stops, the choir organ eight. It is well ornamented; has rich pulpit cloths, and coverings for the altar, and a very large service of plate." He adds interestingly, "The people of South Carolina, in general, may be said to be a sensible and moral people. Divine service is performed in the Country Churches on Sunday morning only. All Churches have a service of plate. Surplices worn only in the three towns." The bishop of London had had no commissary in the colony for many years when

⁴*History of South Carolina Under Royal Government*, by Edward McCrady (New York, 1899), p. 495.

⁵*Digest S. P. G. Records, 1701-1892*, p. 87.

⁶*Historical Address*, by J. J. Pringle Smith, Charleston, 1876. Appendix.

⁷*Dalcho*, p. 122. This was the second St. Philip's Church. The first was built about 1680-81, on the site of present St. Michael's. The second was destroyed by fire in 1835. The third on same site is even more handsome than the second.

Smith began his ministry in St. Philip's.⁸ This naturally added to the responsibilities of the rector of the mother parish.

An early event which had a distinct bearing upon Mr. Smith's position and influence was his marriage to Elizabeth Paget, the daughter and heiress of Francis Paget. "A romantic story is told of his first landing in Charleston Town,—Robert Smith was a very handsome young man; and, as he walked along the Bay, Miss Paget saw him from her window, and then and there made up her mind that he was the man she wished to marry." They were married on July 9, 1759. He thus became a sharer in a large estate. So, under favoring conditions and with broad responsibilities did Mr. Smith begin his long ministry. The young rector entered at once upon his duties and immediately began to fulfil expectations through active service. He was possessed of just those attributes of character which qualified him to meet his opportunities—broad in human sympathy, attractive in personality, with a good share of wit, wise, and withal of outstanding ability. These were just the qualities that enabled him to guide the Church through a tempestuous period, amidst many adverse conditions, into final union with the General Convention. Dalcho testifies, "He was the active and efficient friend of his professional brethren, in less favored circumstances of life, and there is abundant testimony on the records of the annual meetings of the clergy, that during many years, he was foremost in the arduous duty of supplying vacant parishes and thus comforting and animating them under afflictive dispensations of Providence, which often bereaved them of useful and beloved ministers."⁹

Early in 1768, his health having become impaired, and with a desire to visit his aged mother, he applied to the vestry for their consent to go to England. This was readily given, in fact urged upon him; the vestry "Sincerely hope that he will through the Divine Goodness be enabled to return to his charge in health by Christmas."¹⁰ It was not to be so soon; although for the parish, he made good use of his time while in England by securing as assistant minister for St. Philip's, Rev. Robert Purcell. Mr. Smith remained in England nearly two years. His duties during his absence were discharged by the ministers of St. Michael's Church until Mr. Purcell's arrival.

On his return from England, Mr. Smith entered with renewed zeal upon the discharge of his duties as rector. He was active in the conduct of the parish school for Negroes until for lack of suitable

⁸South Carolina had three commissaries: Rev. Gideon Johnson, 1707-1716; Rev. W. T. Bull, 1716-1723; Rev. Alexander Garden, the last, 1726-1747.

⁹*Dalcho*, p. 215

¹⁰Minutes, St. Philip's Vestry, March 17, May 2, 1768.

teachers it was discontinued in 1764. In 1774 we find him desiring of the vestry that the Negroes owned by the parish be sold and the money put at interest. Mr. Smith was a leader in the founding, April 21, 1762, of "The Society for the Relief of the Widows and Children of the Clergy of the Church of England in the Province of South Carolina." This Society still survives and is, next to one in Virginia, the oldest society of the kind in America.

Mr. Smith's first wife, Elizabeth Paget, died in 1771 without issue. He inherited her entire large estate, including Brabant Plantation of 3,600 acres in St. Thomas' Parish. Brabant was Mr. Smith's country seat and residence when his duties permitted his absence from the city.¹¹ The large means acquired through his first marriage was generously administered often for the benefit of the less favored of his brethren of the clergy and others as well as also for public causes. The confidence generally reposed in him led to his being called often to act as executor of estates as well as guardian of numerous helpless orphans. He was a man of many interests. When Charleston fell to the British in 1780 he was exiled to Philadelphia, and all his property was sequestered by order of Sir Henry Clinton. Brabant was used by Cornwallis as his headquarters on the east side of the Cooper River. The extent of Mr. Smith's holdings is revealed by an advertisement in the *Charles Town Gazette* after the Revolution demanding the return of his property and that of others for which he was responsible, including all sorts of household furniture as well as live stock and other property. The British had been very generous in distributing his property to neighbors favoring their cause. In 1774 Rev. Mr. Smith married his second wife, Sarah Shubrick, who died in 1779, leaving as issue Sarah Motte Smith, who married General John Rutledge, son of the distinguished John Rutledge, president of South Carolina and first governor of the State of South Carolina. Mr. Smith's third wife was Anna Maria Tilghman (widow of Charles Goldsboro of Talbot, Maryland), daughter of Colonel Edward Tilghman and Elizabeth Chew. The children of this marriage were: Elizabeth, who died young; Robert, who married Elizabeth Mary Pringle; William Mason, who married Susanna Pringle, and Anna Tilghman, who died young. Mr. Smith's descendants have been prominent in South Carolina history. They include H. A. M. Smith, judge of the Federal Court for many years and historian; also the historian, Mr. D. E. Huger Smith, and his daughter, Miss Alice R. Smith, the dis-

¹¹*Baronies of S. C.*, H. A. M. Smith, *S. C. Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, January, 1917, pp. 34-35. See also John B. Irving's *A Day on Cooper River* (Mrs. Stoney's Enlargement), p. 130, for story of how Mauder, an Irishman, saved the Church plate and Mr. Smith's silver and how Mr. Smith provided for him for the residue of his days.

tinguished water-colorist, and Mr. J. J. Pringle Smith, the owner of Middleton Place on the Ashby with its beautiful gardens.

At the beginning of the difficulties with the mother country Mr. Smith was loyal to the crown. However, it was not long before he was found warmly espousing the cause of the colony. When hostilities began and Sir Peter Parker with his fleet attacked Charles Town, the rector of St. Philip's served in the ranks as a private in the defending army. Later he occupied the position of chaplain-general to the southern department of the continental army. Garden, in his *Anecdotes*, says he "shouldered his musket and amidst scenes of greatest danger, both by precept and example, stimulated to intrepid resistance." He preached a sermon before the Commons House of Assembly, February 17, 1775, for which he received the thanks of that body in these words, "The readiness, Sir, with which you complied with the request of the people; and the suitable manner in which you acquitted yourself, carry the strongest evidence that, no illiberal, narrow principles influence your conduct, but, on the contrary, that you are actuated by a truly benevolent heart, and a real love for mankind; the good and welfare of whom, is the ultimate end of all institutions, religious as well as civil."¹² There can be little doubt that it was the influence of Mr. Smith which explains in no small measure the unique record of the clergy of South Carolina as compared with those of the other colonies in the Revolution,—fifteen out of twenty adhered to the cause of America and remained at their posts of duty.

When Charles Town was finally captured by the British in 1780, Mr. Smith, with other leading citizens of the city, was banished to Philadelphia. During his exile in the middle states lasting three years he had charge of St. Paul's Parish, Queen's County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. This sojourn in the north, through knowledge acquired and friendships formed, widened his interest in the Church in America and determined in large measure the character of his leadership when he returned to South Carolina, uniting the Church in cooperation with the rest of the country and leading it finally in the face of many difficulties, into union with the General Convention. His return home in 1783 was the occasion of great rejoicing by all the inhabitants of South Carolina.

The view that met the eyes of this servant of God on his return from exile was in great contrast to that which greeted him when he first set foot on the soil of Carolina twenty-six years before. A revolution had indeed taken place. Then, under circumstances as related above, he had entered into the life of a happy province of the British

¹²*Dalcho*, p. 219.

Empire, and was soon, though a young man, to take a leading position in the Church. Now a very different prospect presented itself. The state was in a confused and depressed condition. More battles of the Revolution had been fought in South Carolina than in any other state and the people had suffered more. The social and political homogeneity, never very strong in the state because of the contrasting elements of Scotch-Irish in the up-country and Cavalier in coastal regions, was badly disrupted, a condition augmented by the fact that toryism had continued strong through the war, increasing dissension and confusion. A sense of unjust treatment through taxation, now greatly increased by the waging of war upon it by England, had developed, in the place of the old love of the mother country, a feeling of deep antipathy to everything English.

The ecclesiastical view was equally discouraging. The Church, once in a position of power and prestige, had suffered greatly from the weakening influences of the Revolution. Many churches were in ruins, the people were poor and life was unsettled. The clergy supply which had come entirely from England was now cut off and more and more of the parishes became vacant. Disestablishment in 1778 brought on a critical situation in clerical support. It was a real problem with people who were accustomed to look to the state for clergy support and who were now poor. Plans were promptly made for the support of the clergy and were successful in Charles Town, but lagged in the country parishes.

The returned rector, not disheartened, addressed himself without delay to repairing broken-down fences. St. Philip's had been kept open continuously during his absence by Rev. Charles Moreau. In view of the financial depression, we find him with characteristic generosity offering to supply himself a home if the vestry would make necessary repairs. A little later, with the spirit of a reformer, he secured action by the vestry abolishing all fees received by the rector excepting only "marriages and citations"—in lieu there would be an allowance of so much per annum.¹³ This became the general rule in the diocese. His own estate, which had been sequestered, plundered, and scattered by the British, was demanding attention, as well as the personal affairs of wards for whom he was responsible. His problems and duties at this time were manifold and pressing.

These could not deter him from following his interest in education. Always had this been a concern to him, whether it was the maintenance of the school for Negroes which he found when he came to the parish, or the securing of funds for the University of Pennsylvania. The prevailing need for educational facilities in the city, Dalcho states, as well as

¹³Minutes, Vestry of St. Philip's, June 2, 1783, and September 14, 1794.

his own pecuniary condition, led to his opening a classical academy in the rectory on Glebe Street in the city. The building still stands. The school attained a high reputation, only the best qualified teachers being employed. An old writer comments that Mr. Smith "at the head of the clergy . . . made himself useful by keeping the best school in the city."¹⁴ In the meantime was inaugurated a movement to establish a municipal college in this city. Such a college was conceived before the Revolution, but it was in 1785 that the first meeting of the trustees of the College of Charleston was held, including Mr. Smith, who was present. In February of the following year he was elected the first president of this body. It was not, however, until 1790 that he offered to merge his academy into the college and yield to it his sixty pupils. This plan was adopted and was the real beginning of this institution, the oldest municipal college in the United States. Mr. Smith lent out of his private means a considerable sum to prepare the buildings. This loan was not fully repaid to his estate until twenty years later. Though the college had an earlier conception, in the sense of making it an actuality Mr. Smith may be called the founder of it. He was the first president of the board of trustees and the first principal of the college. Mr. J. Harold Easterby, the historian of the college, says of Mr. Smith, "Tradition represents him as a hearty, generous man, who understood life." "He presided over the college," wrote one of his former students, "with great dignity and address, and had more power over boys than anyone in a similar capacity whom I have ever known, although never severe or morose."¹⁵ One of the first six graduates of this college was John Callahan, once rector of St. Marks-in-the-Bowerie, New York, and another was Nathaniel Bowen, third bishop of South Carolina, who lived with Mr. Smith while a student. His duties as rector and bishop as well as principal becoming too heavy, he resigned the principalship in 1798. The degree of doctor in divinity was bestowed upon him in 1789 by the University of Pennsylvania.

But we must return to Mr. Smith in his ecclesiastical duties. We have seen something of the difficulties he encountered after the Revolution, but it was due to him more than to any other that the prestige lost by disestablishment and through the trials of war began in some measure to be restored.

As we approach the difficult period of the erection of the Church in South Carolina into a diocese and the organization of the General Convention, it becomes important to note certain developments and characteristics of the Church in this province. We must begin with the twice-told tale of the lack of a bishop in colonial days. As Commissary

¹⁴*Reminiscences*, E. S. Thomas, p. 38.

¹⁵*College of Charleston*, J. Harold Easterby, *in loco*.

Garden wrote to the bishop of London in the middle of the century, the churches were still without "so essential a part of their being as that of a bishop or bishops personally presiding over and governing them; in their present condition certainly without a parallel in the Christian Church in any age or country, from the beginning."¹⁶ It is true that the Church here in colonial days was not entirely acephalous; it was under the bishop of London, who was represented for part of the time by commissaries; also there were yearly visitations or meetings of the clergy which brought them together at least annually from 1731 to 1770. There was, however, no exercise of episcopal jurisdiction in any proper sense. As early as 1704, the Assembly, having difficulty with a contumacious rector¹⁷ of St. Philip's, in order to deal legally with such cases and generally to administer clerical discipline, passed an act creating a lay commission for this purpose. Such usurpation of authority by the laity over the clergy was a new thing. The law was declared to be an invasion upon the spiritual authority of the bishop of London and an interference by the Assembly with a matter over which they had no control. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel determined that they would send no more missionaries to Carolina until the obnoxious law was abolished. The queen declared the law null and void and the Assembly was thus forced to recede and repeal the act. The lay commission, however contrary to canon law, was founded on an existing need, and it is hard in some measure not to sympathize with the Assembly. The repealing of this act did not stop the development of usurpation of authority by the laity in the Church, which in some measure continues to this day. The vestries to all intents and purposes constituted the ultimate authority in Church life. The rector was not a member of the vestry and when he did attend it was by invitation. He was really a hired man who could be dismissed at the pleasure of the vestry. The absence of proper episcopal authority from the first can explain the situation. It was a development, however, fraught with danger. Thus we see in South Carolina the opposite of that exclusive claim to authority by the clergy in Connecticut. There may have been an inward protest by the clergy, but as a rule they seem to have calmly accepted the order of things.

After the storm of the Revolution had subsided, results appeared deeply affecting the Church which no longer had even the mild cohesion supplied by allegiance to the canons of the Church of England. Really the parishes were adrift. "Out of the contest and the events which had led to it, there had grown a strong, even bitter antipathy to many of

¹⁶*Historical Address*, Smith, quoted above, p. 107.

¹⁷Rev. Edward Marston, *Dalcho*, p. 58.

the institutions of Great Britain, and a keen jealousy of all forms supposed to be akin to them. Especially was this the case in South Carolina Hence came increased exasperation and bitterness. The Church partook of the effects of this apprehension and jealousy of everything resembling establishment under the crown, or seeming to savour of the government just thrown off."¹⁸ Bishop Howe goes so far as to say that, "In the minds of some of our own people, immediately after the war, a Bishop was little better than a '*monstrum horrendum.*'"¹⁹ Having nowhere to look for authority in the Church, the parishes were more than ever thrown back upon themselves. Dr. John Kershaw, late rector of St. Michael's Church, writing of the period says: "Here is the spirit of Congregationalism incarnate. It illustrates how jealously the Churchman of that day guarded the rights of their respective parishes as independent factors in whatever association or federation they might form. The idea of their organic union in the Church, whether in South Carolina or in the United States, had not dawned upon them, and while the idea has since taken root and borne fruit to some extent, the principle of parochialism still prevails in considerable degree and there is no general realization of the Church being 'one body,' though composed of many members."²⁰

Such then was the situation in South Carolina when Mr. Smith received a communication from the preliminary convention which met in New York in October, 1784, inviting South Carolina to organize itself and send delegates to the proposed General Convention. He laid this before a joint meeting of the vestries of St. Philip's and St. Michael's, from which meeting went out a call for the first diocesan convention in South Carolina. This met May 12 and adjourned to July 12, 1785. Our purpose now in connection with these diocesan and General Conventions is only to call attention to the part played by Mr. Smith. Dalcho says, "It was through the unwearied exertions of his [Smith's] sound and judicious zeal, that they [the various parishes] were to associate in a state convention, from which delegates were sent to the earliest General Convention held at Philadelphia, for the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."²¹ To appreciate the difficulty of his leadership as well as the greatness of it, we need only recall the conditions described above—the spirit of parochialism, political passions, the long developed jealousy of authority by the laity. As a matter of fact the laity of this diocese never conceded

¹⁸*Historical Address*, Smith, quoted above, p. 106.

¹⁹Centennial Convention Sermon, Rt. Rev. W. B. W. Howe, D. D., bishop of South Carolina, *Journal of convention of South Carolina, 1890*, p. 123.

²⁰Manuscript History in Archives of Diocese of South Carolina.

²¹*Dalcho*, p. 217.

to the clergy any *ex-officio* right to vote in convention for a great many years. Even in the twenty-sixth convention, that of 1814, an *ex-officio* (*sic*) right was only gingerly conceded on condition the clergy present a certificate signed by a majority of the vestry or other "authority" of the congregation giving consent that they "exercise such rights in the absence of their lay delegate or delegates"²² Bishop Howe remarks: "Here in South Carolina as in Puritan Massachusetts 'my Lord Brethren' are paramount."

Smith's leadership is illustrated in the third convention of the diocese, April 26, 1786. The convention was considering the constitution adopted by the General Convention, in Philadelphia in September, 1785. All the eleven rules and the resolutions were agreed to in the main with one exception. It was the action on this point that has given rise to the oft repeated statement that South Carolina refused at the first to have a bishop. Certainly there is a measure of truth in the statement, but we must weigh the facts for the measure of truth in its bearing on the leadership of Mr. Smith. The action has often been misconstrued. It should not be overlooked that South Carolina fully from the first accepted the ministry in its threefold order.²³ When the convention came to Rule 5, a critical moment arrived, fraught with serious consequences for the Church in South Carolina, as also for its unity and integrity in the United States. The action was, "Objected to; so far as relates to the settlement of a bishop in South Carolina. But recommend that the word *State* be inserted between the words *respective* and *Conventions*."²⁴ There was a doubt in the mind of the convention as to whether the General Convention intended itself to elect bishops and settle them in the states. The convention was not ready to give up the ancient right of dioceses to elect their own bishops. Nor was the convention apparently ready to agree to bishops at all in South Carolina, in view of its fears concerning their character and administrative authority as the episcopate then existed in England—there was no constitution defining their powers. It was Rev. Robert Smith who saved the day by proposing and securing the adoption of the above action. As to the second clause of the objection, the rule as finally adopted by the General Convention in 1789 was in the form suggested by South Carolina. It turned out to be a groundless fear. As to the first and more serious determination in the first clause, time was gained for passions to cool and opinions to form that the office of bishop is not inherently contrary to democratic institutions. The laity in the conven-

²²*Journal*, twenty-sixth convention (1814), *Dalcho*, p. 530. The journals of the early conventions in South Carolina are printed in *Dalcho*.

²³*Journal*, 1786, *Dalcho*, p. 474.

²⁴*Journal*, 1786, *Dalcho*, p. 469.

tion, it should be noted, were often the same able and liberty loving men who took part in the writing of the constitution of the United States. The compromise thus deferring of the "establishing of a bishop in South Carolina," introduced by the very man who would have been elected bishop, had the intended effect and the day was saved. The essence of the matter was that South Carolina wanted a bishop for ordaining and confirming, but they were not willing to take the risk of episcopal jurisdiction.

This action of the convention was not the end of the matter. In the eleventh convention of the diocese, October 16, 1794, when the subject of giving the bishops a negative on the proceedings of the clergy and laity in General Convention, came before the state convention, the unanimous opinion of the convention was that no such power should be granted.²⁵ Feeling grew very strong. It was even suggested that schism might follow, and, therefore, immediate action should be taken to secure the consecration of a bishop that the Church be not left without power to ordain much needed clergymen and to confirm. No action, however, was taken in this convention, nor was the circular letter to the churches embodying this motive, which was sent out following this convention, ever authorized by the convention. The next year, on February 10, 1795, Robert Smith was unanimously elected the first bishop of South Carolina. His consecration took place at the next following General Convention in Philadelphia, September 13, 1795, by Presiding Bishop White, assisted by Bishops Provoost, Madison and Claggett. He was the sixth bishop in the American succession. After his election and consecration as bishop, Dr. Smith continued as rector of St. Philip's.^{25 1-2}

When his name with his credentials of election came before the bishops in General Convention, the presiding bishop, who had received a copy of the circular letter referred to above, laid this letter before the bishops.²⁶ On instruction he inquired of Dr. Smith, who stated that the convention had not adopted the principles enunciated in the circular letter. The matter ended there. Bishop White states, "There existed no evidence to the contrary, nor have there been any subsequently received to that effect."

It can scarcely be claimed that South Carolina had then any full conception of the episcopal office in the Church in its jurisdictional as well as its spiritual power residing in one whose duty is to "administer the godly discipline thereof;" nor is it altogether so today in this diocese. If it could have been foreseen in South Carolina that the American epis-

²⁵*Journal*, 1794, *Dalcho*, p. 480.

^{25 1-2}The four first bishops of South Carolina were at the same time rectors of either St. Philip's (Smith, Gadsden) or St. Michael's (Dehon or Bowen).

²⁶*Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Wm. White, D. D., 1820, p. 218.

copate was to be constitutional, the story might have been different. It cannot be doubted that it was the wisdom and personality of Mr. Smith which, humanly speaking, saved the Church in its essential integrity in South Carolina.

We must now consider Mr. Smith's part in the early General Conventions. He was active and, especially in that of 1786, a leader. Here again he found himself in a storm center. His convictions were too deep and his concern for a unified American Church too great to allow him to keep silence. He declined his election to the first General Convention "from the peculiar situation of his family." He had, therefore, no direct part in the setting forth of the Proposed Book of Common Prayer. He was, however, chairman of a committee of the convention of South Carolina suggesting a long list of changes in the Proposed Book.²⁷ Bishop White's statement "In South Carolina, the book was received without limitation," is, therefore, incorrect.²⁸ South Carolina, represented by Mr. White and General John Rutledge, supported the movement in the General Convention of 1786, which restored the "descent" clause in the Creed.

The convention of South Carolina sought to make sure that Mr. Smith would attend the General Convention of 1786 by providing "eighty guineas toward defraying" his expenses. For his part in this convention he has been classed as a "radical"²⁹ and elsewhere as "the pertinacious Robert Smith."³⁰ If by these terms is meant in the one case "thorough-going" and in the other "tenacious," we can assent; but if the meaning intended (as we suppose) is "extreme" and "stubborn," we must dissent from such description of "our gentle first bishop." His fault, in much current writing, is that he stood with Dr. Provoost against the recognition of the validity of ordinations by Dr. Seabury. Whether at this time there is or is not any question as to the regularity and validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration,³¹ I shall not discuss; but it was evidently a matter not readily disposed of in the circumstances of that day. It would scarcely have required a "radical" under all the circumstances to question the action in Connecticut. Bishop Seabury had been elected by a small group of clergymen, who had gone ahead without the presence of any laymen and elected as bishop a man of tory record, who had been a chaplain in the British army during the war and who remained a pensioner of the British government. Furthermore, his consecration had been by bishops of the small proscribed Episcopal Church of Scot-

²⁷*Journal*, 1786, *Dalcho*, p. 471.

²⁸*Memoirs*, p. 118.

²⁹See W. H. Stowe, "The Scottish Episcopal Succession and the Validity of Bishop Seabury's Orders," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. IX (December, 1940), pp. 322-348.

³⁰Perry's *History of the American Church*, 1885, Vol. II, p. 44.

³¹W. H. Stowe, *op. cit.*

land. It must have appeared to many as a matter at least of questionable wisdom for the Church in the leading states to accept this action, and so allow the Episcopal Church in America, at the very beginning of its independent life, to take color from this procedure. And this, too, when the application for the regular succession of the Church of England was pending and a matter evidently of grave concern. It has been stated that Bishop Seabury's consecration hastened the consent from England. Possibly this is true, but it is extremely doubtful whether the leaders of the Church at that time, before the consent was given, thought that it would have such an effect.

Fortunate it was from the standpoint of results achieved, that the resolutions sponsored by Dr. Provoost and Mr. Smith openly challenging Bishop Seabury's consecration were sidetracked. However, it should not be overlooked that of the two resolutions which Drs. William Smith and William White, the chief leaders, "allowed" to pass, one was moved by Dr. White himself and seconded by Mr. Robert Smith, and only the other was moved by Mr. Smith.³² Dr. Wilson, in his memoir of the life of Bishop White, calls this latter resolution a "prudent precaution."³³ The effect of these resolutions was at least for the time being to check the unlimited exercise of Bishop Seabury's authority in America, (he had ordained clergymen for service beyond New England), and thereby in the long run they tended very probably to preserve the unity and good order of the Church. It should be carefully noted that Mr. Smith accepted the defeat of the first two resolutions with good grace, and that the two other resolutions (Dr. White's, which he seconded, and his own) were adopted unanimously. This course of events in which Mr. Smith had such a leading part was probably in the end the best thing for the future unity and acceptance of the Church in democratic and liberty loving America. It is almost certain that this positive stand in the matter contributed reflexively in no small measure to the final establishment of a bishop in South Carolina. It was in this convention that Mr. Smith was one of the committee which sat up all night formulating the application to the English Church for consecration of bishops for America.

We trust that we have shown how important were Bishop Smith's services to the Church in those troublous days. His episcopate appears not to have been very active; there were a few ordinations but no confirmations, and apparently no visitations. He seems only to have seen the promised land of an actively functioning diocese from a distance. He sowed the seed, it was good seed, but it took long to germinate

³²W. H. Stowe, p. 323.

³³*Memoirs of Right Rev. William White*, 1839. Bird Wilson, p. 112.

and to bear fruit.^{33 1-2} This came abundantly, after many years of more or less dormancy in the Church in South Carolina, in the short but splendid episcopate of Bishop Theodore Dehon (1812-1817), when a veritable renaissance took place.

Viewed from the standpoint of his character, combining strength with wisdom, and his manifold activities in a time that "tried men's souls," it would seem indeed that Bishop Smith was a man "sent from God." His sermons which are extant in manuscript form breathe a deep religious fervor, an even orthodoxy, and a broad human sympathy.³⁴ We can scarcely do better here than to quote the following summation coming from the sympathetic heart of one of his successors, our sixth Bishop, Right Reverend W. B. W. Howe, written after a review of the Church here in those days:³⁵ "From this it appears that but for the influence of Rev. Robert Smith, rector of St. Philip's, it is almost certain that the Church in South Carolina would not have acceded at this time to the proposed union of the Episcopal Churches throughout the United States. Dr. Smith in what he did, looked not on his own things, but on the things of others. When he said of Rule 6, 'objected to as far as relates to the establishment of a bishop in South Carolina,' he relinquished the honor as he thought of the first episcopate of South Carolina if only he could carry the Church into union with the sister churches of other States. And when the honor of the first episcopate did come to him in 1795, I seem to see, in Bishop Smith's after administration of the diocese, a care, first of all, to remove prejudices against the episcopate. Knowing these prejudices in the minds of his people against 'My Lord Bishop' he kept 'My Lord' out of sight altogether, and let the bishop appear only on rare occasions. Probably he was too considerate of popular prejudices. I have turned the leaves of the episcopal register back to Bishop Smith's day, and find no record of visitations, or of confirmations³⁶ in the six years of his episcopate. Eleven ordinations are carefully recorded of names known by tradition only—that is all. If South Carolina had a resident bishop he did not obtrude himself or his prelacy upon her. That staunch old puritan who left England to be rid of the 'Lord Bishops,' and afterwards was glad to get rid of 'the lord

^{33 1-2}No successor to Bishop Smith was elected until 1804, when Rev. Edward Jenkins declined his election on account of age. No further attempt to elect a bishop was made until Theodore Dehon was elected and consecrated in 1812. Thus for eleven years there was no bishop of the diocese.

³⁴They are preserved in a chest in St. Philip's Home.

³⁵Sermon quoted above.

³⁶The first confirmation in South Carolina was by Bishop Dehon, March 30, 1813, of a class presented in Trinity Church, Edisto Island, by Rev. Andrew Fowler. Pamphlet describing the service in archives of the diocese. In this year 516 persons were confirmed by Bishop Dehon. *Dalcho*, p. 534.

brethren,' might have found rest and peace with us under our 'gentle first bishop.' "

"There is a pleasant touch to link Bishop Smith with the present. The present St. Philip's Church was built after his death, the first building having been destroyed by fire. But yet another fire having damaged the chancel, the restoration [1921] was made with a lengthening of the chancel over the spot where the bishop was buried. It was found that he had been buried in a vault with a heavy masonry arch over it. The architect said that nothing could make a better foundation for the new chancel wall than this arch. So the bishop rests in peace, taking part as he did in life in the welfare of the church."³⁷

We conclude this sketch with the following revealing obituary in the *Charleston City Gazette and Advertiser* of October 3, 1801:³⁸

"Died on Wednesday afternoon, after a short illness, the Right Reverend Robert Smith, D. D., Bishop of the Episcopal Churches in South Carolina in the 73 year of his age, 45 of which he has performed the duties of minister of St. Philip's Church.

His remains attended by his weeping relatives, the Society of the Cincinnati, and a most numerous train of friends and fellow citizens, were conducted last evening, to St. Philip's Church, where they were interred.

It may be said with great truth, that his upright conduct through life drew upon him the regard of all good men, and no other proof need be given of the love and esteem he was held in by all ranks of society, than the many tears which were shed when his dust was deposited in the silent grave."

³⁷Correspondence.

³⁸Bound files in library of College of Charleston.

A VENTURE IN CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

THE STORY OF CHURCH SCHOOLS IN THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA

By G. MacLaren Brydon

*"We have been so eager in this country to teach men how to make a living that we have frequently failed to teach them how to live.—
L. C. W.*

The Episcopal Church in Virginia has always been interested in the subject of the education of its youth. This interest arises naturally out of the fact of its own inherited ideals, and its realization that all phases of education,—whether dealing with religious teaching and instilling ideals and standards of moral conduct or with the so-called "secular" studies of the sciences, arts, languages and history,—are so inextricably interwoven in one all-embracing concept of training the growing youth for the fullest and richest development of his life, that they cannot be separated the one from the other without serious hurt to them both.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The plans under which the colony of Virginia was established and began its growth, made provision for a college for Indian youth and a free school and a college for English boys, all included in one university. That this plan failed of accomplishment after having been started, was due to conditions over which the colony had no control. Throughout the whole of the colonial period the matter of education was considered to be under the charge of the Established Church, but as that Church had no bishop, no organization and no leaders, no general plan could be devised or put into effect.

A college was, however, secured, the College of William and Mary, which continued under the control and ownership of the Church from its establishment in 1693 until it collapsed in the years of poverty after the War Between the States. It was revived in 1888, and in 1906 was taken over as a state institution.

In some of the colonial parishes endowed free schools were established, and many endowed funds set up in others to aid in the education of needy boys. These endowed schools did excellent service. The names of some of them have come down to us of today: the Syms

School and Eaton School of Elizabeth City Parish, the Norfolk Academy, the Matthey School in Williamsburg, and the Peasley School in Gloucester. There were also some schools, like the Donald Robertson School in King and Queen County, owned and conducted by laymen.

But by far the greatest and most widespread element in the field of education in colonial Virginia was the schools taught by the rectors of parishes and other ministers. A very large number of ministers taught school; and in so doing they, as a group, made a profound contribution to the developing life of the colony by their upholding of the higher ideals of life and of a love for the finer things of culture and refinement. The names of some of the outstanding old-school-teacher-parsons are still remembered: James Marye, of Fredericksburg, who taught the boy, George Washington; Thomas Burges, who taught Martha Dandridge, who later became Martha Washington; James and Matthew Maury in Albemarle, William Yates in Gloucester, and the doughty old Tory, Parson William Douglas, who taught Thomas Jefferson.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY ERA

After the Revolution, and the collapse of the Episcopal Church in Virginia following the sequestration of its property, the state took over the glebe-lands, and all the many endowments for care of the poor and for educational purposes. But the state established no plan for the education of its youth beyond the establishment of the University of Virginia in the last years of Thomas Jefferson's life. In some counties academies were established with the proceeds of the sale of glebe-lands and the income of educational endowments, but none of these academies continued in existence more than a few years, except Norfolk Academy, which survived until the beginning of the twentieth century, and Rappahannock Academy in Caroline County, which had taken possession of the parish church by permission of the state legislature, and used it until its building was destroyed by contending armies in the War Between the States.

The state of Virginia had no general program for the education of its youth until the year 1870, when the Underwood Constitution, which went into effect in 1869, required the establishment of our present public school system. Prior to that time all secondary education was the fruit of private initiative; either as schools started by the several denominations of Christians, or by groups of public-spirited citizens of a community, or by the individual effort of some man or woman who operated his own school. Some of the academies started by different churches developed into present-day colleges, such as Washington and Lee University, Randolph-Macon College and Roanoke College, for men;

Hollins College, Averett College and Mary Baldwin College, for women. The Danville Female Academy and the Staunton Female Institute, which is now Stuart Hall, were cases of schools started by groups of citizens, although actually taught by individuals who in each case operated the school as his own.

In this period also, as in the colonial period, the greatest share in the education of the youth of the state was taken by individuals, mostly clergymen, who taught school, and who in many cases won widespread recognition for the excellence and success of their teaching. The names of some of these schools are still held in grateful memory for the contribution they made to the cultural development of our people. Concord Academy in Caroline, which is said to have set the scholastic standards of the new University of Virginia by the thoroughness of its own curriculum and methods of teaching; Hanover Academy in Hanover County, still remembered and beloved by some of our oldest citizens. Later on, the McCabe School in Petersburg, the McGuire School in Richmond, Pantops in Albemarle for boys, the Brockenbrough School in Tappahannock, and the Edge Hill School of the Misses Randolph in Albemarle for girls; these were typical of many others scattered in every part of the state.

There was of necessity no organization, and no centralized authority in scholastic matters under which these schools, or any of them, operated. In methods and character of teaching, in breadth or narrowness of curriculum, and in the ideals and aims of a school, each principal or headmaster or mistress followed his or her own ideas and ideals.

FIRST SCHOOLS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN VIRGINIA

The first school actually established by the Episcopal Church in Virginia was the Episcopal High School at Alexandria, started in 1839 with the two-fold purpose of educating boys who would later enter the Virginia Theological Seminary, and beyond that, to provide education under religious influences for the sons of Episcopal families, and especially for the sons of Episcopal clergymen, throughout the state. The Episcopal High School was indeed established by the trustees of the Virginia Theological Seminary, and was owned by that board of trustees until, within the past thirty years, the two institutions have been separated, and each one given its own separate and independent existence.

The second school established by the diocese was the Virginia Female Institute (now Stuart Hall), in Staunton, which was first organized by a group of laymen of Augusta Parish. A charter was secured

on January 4, 1844, and in the following year the rector, Rev. Thomas T. Castleman, reported that the parish was busily engaged in raising funds for the erection of buildings for the institute. In 1851 the diocese obtained possession of the school by acquiring, through gift or purchase, a majority of the stock of the school corporation. It is today a non-stock corporation, owned by the Episcopal Church of Virginia, the three present dioceses in the state each selecting from time to time one-third of the members of its board of trustees.

Both of these first schools were established while the diocese of Virginia covered the whole undivided commonwealth. The cutting off of the state of West Virginia in 1863, and the organization of the diocese of West Virginia in 1878, the diocese of Southern Virginia in 1892, and the diocese of Southwestern Virginia in 1919, have resulted in much inevitable separation of educational as well as other interests. But the bishops and bishops-coadjutor, if any, of all four of these dioceses are still *ex-officio* members of the board of trustees of the Episcopal High School, and also of the Virginia Theological Seminary, and the three dioceses within the commonwealth of Virginia, as it exists today, together own Stuart Hall.

These first two diocesan schools survived the vicissitudes of war and reconstruction, and the consequent poverty of the people, and they have both carried on in faithful and honored service to the present day.

PLANS OF THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A proposition for the establishment of a diocesan system of schools was brought to the attention of the council of the diocese at its meetings in 1875 and 1877. A committee appointed in 1875 to consider the matter presented a report in 1877, recommending that the diocese be divided into four districts, and that a school be established in each district, with the hope that after such a beginning others might be established and that eventually there might be two schools, one for boys and one for girls in each district. Recognizing the great poverty of the people of Virginia at that time, the committee nevertheless urged that preliminary organizations be made in each district, and plans formulated, to be put into effect as soon as changed conditions would permit. The report of the committee was adopted by the council, but nothing seems to have been done at that time to put the plan into effect.

In one section of the diocese, however, the recommendations were taken more seriously. This district was the Danville Convocation, which includes the counties on the North Carolina line to the east and west of Pittsylvania County, in which the town of Danville was then located.

In 1892 the Danville Convocation determined to establish two schools, one for boys at Halifax Court House, (then called Houston), under the charge of the Rev. J. Green Shackelford, and the other for girls at Chatham, under the Rev. Clevious O. Pruden.

It may be worthy of note that the moving spirit in the establishment of these schools was the Rev. Dr. George W. Dame, of Danville, rector of Camden Parish, who had been the mover of the first resolution and the chairman of the committee on schools in the diocesan council of 1875-77, and who had himself conducted the Danville Female Academy from 1840 until the adverse conditions of the Reconstruction period forced its close in 1869. He was the county superintendent of public schools from the beginning of that system in 1870 until 1883, but his own keen realization that a system of public instruction under the political control of civil government could never give the definite religious instruction and teaching of Christian ideals of character and conduct which he believed to be essential in any well-rounded scheme of secondary education, made him urge and insist upon the importance of schools under Church control. In his resolution presented to the council in 1875 he began with the following words:

“Whereas the thorough instruction of our children in the doctrine of the Bible and of the Church, in connection with their education in science and literature, as taught in our best schools, is the only feasible means of securing intelligent Christians and churchmen to carry on the work of Christ in its purity and integrity in our Diocese.”

Both schools, the Chatham Female Institute and the Episcopal Male Academy, were chartered as separate institutions in 1894 and 1895. The boys' school continued in existence for four years, having an enrollment of sixty boys in the session of 1898-99, but was then forced to close its doors. The “Female Institute” at Chatham has continued in existence, and is today a strong and flourishing institution under its present name of Chatham Hall. This is the second oldest school for girls established by the Episcopal Church in Virginia. But the division of the diocese in 1892 threw the whole Danville Convocation into the new diocese of Southern Virginia, and Chatham Hall, along with the two educational institutions for Negroes, the Bishop Payne Divinity School at Petersburg and St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute at Lawrenceville, both established by the undivided diocese prior to 1892, belong to the educational program of the diocese of Southern Virginia.

THE LEADERSHIP OF BISHOP GIBSON

The episcopate of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Robert A. Gibson as coadjutor bishop to Bishop Whittle from 1897 to 1902, and as bishop of the diocese from 1902 until his death in February, 1919, should always be remembered for its notable features: the great support he gave to the missionary work of the diocese among the underprivileged people of the mountain sections, under the leadership of Archdeacon Frederick W. Neve, D. D., and his deep and abiding interest in the strengthening and advancement of the work of the Church in the rural counties of the diocese. His keen realization of the fundamental necessity of education which included Christian ideals of character and conduct as well as secular instruction, made him stress the importance of schools in both of these fields. In the mountain work the program of development provided for a parish school at every mission station, and later on, the establishment of the Blue Ridge Industrial School under the Rev. Dr. George P. Mayo, which was to be the capstone of the educational plan both in providing high school instruction for the children graduating from the mission schools, and also training in the industrial features of farming, domestic science and homemaking.

As regards the large part of the diocese outside the cities and large towns, he realized that not only the great weakness and inefficiency of the country public schools, but also the inability of such public schools as existed to give any definite teaching in religion, constituted a hindrance to the advancement of these sections, and made it exceedingly difficult for a clergyman with children to give them normal educational opportunities. As an illustration of this condition the experience of a certain minister who came to a rural parish in 1911 may be illuminative. He found upon his arrival that there was only one two-room public school building in the whole county, the rest being one-room schools; and the only school near enough to his rectory to enable his children to attend, was a one-room building with seats for eighteen pupils and an enrollment of thirty-five; and taught through the fifth grade only. When he inquired how the families in his congregation educated their children, he was told that tutors and governesses were employed until the children were old enough to be sent away to private schools.

In the simple days of 1910 a salary of \$1,000 and a house was generally considered to be a fairly comfortable salary for a minister with wife and children in a small town or rural parish, and there were many ministers who did not receive so much. But when a minister with such a salary was faced with the problem of employing a governess to teach his children, and then send them off to a boarding school or to

live with relatives, there was usually one answer only,—the minister accepted the first call that came to him from a community which possessed better school facilities. The inevitable result of this was that country parishes were always harder to fill with desirable ministers, and there were always many vacancies. The bishop might send deacons to take charge of such parishes upon graduation from the seminary, but marriage and the coming of the first child turned the minister's thoughts to the problem of education. There is one rural parish in the diocese which holds the record of having had sixteen ministers, most of them deacons, in thirty-two years.

As Bishop Gibson studied the educational situation, he realized that among the number of private schools, large and small, existing within the diocese, there were many which were conducted by members of the Episcopal Church. He, therefore, developed a plan under which he proposed that these schools which were in any way under the influence of the Church, should come together into a loose sort of voluntary association, through which they might be strengthened and systematized in their aims and plans for religious instruction and Christian teaching. He hoped unquestionably that in the development of such a system, scholarships and funds for schooling might be provided which would enable him to help the children of rectory families in the rural parishes secure adequate educational opportunity. In the working out of this plan, more than one private school placed at the bishop's disposal a scholarship covering board and tuition, which he might assign to the son or daughter of some minister or layman.

While this vision of the bishop never came to full fruition in the establishment of a definite system, it was of great constructive value in its emphasis upon the need. Stressing as he did the necessity of united effort and the responsibility of the Church in the diocese for the education of its children, his efforts paved the way for the development of the Church Schools idea under his successor, Bishop Brown. There was, however, one very real and visible achievement as the outcome of the bishop's efforts, in the organization of a third school for girls by the people of the diocese.

This was Saint Anne's School at Charlottesville. There had been for a great many years a school for girls in that city named Rawlings Institute, owned and operated as a Baptist school. This institution had fallen upon evil days and had been closed for several years. Under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Harry B. Lee, rector of Christ Church, Charlottesville, and founder of many mission chapels in Albemarle County, a movement was inaugurated to secure sufficient funds to purchase this property and reopen it as a school for girls under the control of the Episcopal Church. Strongly endorsed by the bishop, the move-

ment proved successful; the money was raised, a stock company organized, the property purchased, and the new school under the name of Saint Anne's School for girls was opened on September 20, 1910. Telling of his hopes for this venture in his address to the diocesan council of 1910, Bishop Gibson said:

"Speaking for myself as bishop of the diocese, I have anticipated for it a career; as it is likely to be the largest of the comparatively inexpensive schools of which mention has been made in the council several times heretofore, and as in all probability it will become the leading school in the system which it has been my aim to encourage, and through the council to advertise and recommend."

Another incident in the story of Church Schools in Bishop Gibson's administration, and one that proved to have material influence upon the later organization, was the effort undertaken in 1914 by the Rev. Edmund Lee Woodward, M. D., then a missionary to China, recently retired because of ill health, to secure for the diocese a tract of about 30 acres in the western suburbs of Richmond for the purpose of establishing thereon a center of diocesan organization and work. The plan as proposed by Dr. Woodward, and approved by the bishop and by formal vote of the council of that year, was to begin the development of a diocesan center by the acquirement for the diocese of the Chamberlayne School for Boys and the Virginia Randolph Ellett School for Girls—both then in active operation in Richmond under their respective corporate boards. To the schools would be added a synod house for the administration of all diocesan business, and eventually other diocesan institutions might be there established.

The plan, thus approved by the bishop and the diocesan council, was moving steadily forward and about three-fourths of the money required for the purchase of the property had been pledged, when the outbreak of the World War in August, 1914, put an immediate end to the movement, and it died. But it died as the seed dies when it is sown in the ground, and the striking fact exists today—that the Virginia Diocesan Center Foundation, envisioned by Dr. Woodward in 1914, has come to birth into new and vigorous life in the Church Schools system organized in 1920; the Mayo Memorial Church House, given in 1923 as a memorial by the daughters and granddaughters of Captain and Mrs. Peter H. Mayo, to be the diocesan administrative headquarters, or synod house; and the bequest by Miss Annie Rose Walker in 1934 of her 186 acre estate of Roslyn, with a generous endowment, to be used as a diocesan center for conferences and courses of study in religious education and other cognate uses. Lastly, as an integral part of the

spiritual and cultural life of the Church, is the foundation established by Dr. Woodward himself, to the development of which he has given twenty years of his active ministry: Shrine Mont, at Orkney Springs in the Shenandoah Valley, as a conference center for the whole Third Province, and the Shrine of the Transfiguration, as a place apart, for the rest and spiritual refreshment of tired souls.

THE LEADERSHIP OF BISHOP BROWN

The Rt. Rev. Dr. William Cabell Brown became bishop of the diocese in February, 1919, upon the death of Bishop Gibson. Elected bishop coadjutor in 1914, he had come from the missionary district of Southern Brazil, in which his whole ministerial life had been spent. Prior to his ordination he had been a teacher at the Episcopal High School under Dr. Launcelot M. Blackford, and for some years had been one of Dr. Blackford's chief assistants in the conduct of the school. During his ministry in Brazil the management of a parish school had been an essentially important part of his missionary work.

Upon his return to Virginia, and as he labored beside Bishop Gibson as his assistant for five years, Bishop Brown must have learned of the efforts that had been made toward the association and cooperation of schools under the influence of the Church, and unquestionably he understood and sympathized with the hopes and aspirations of his senior.

He found a great opportunity to enter into the school situation while he was still the bishop-coadjutor. It happened that Stuart Hall was in a difficult situation arising from the plan under which it was being operated. Under the method which had been in use since its organization, the property and good will of the school **was leased to an** individual schoolmaster who conducted it as his or her own financial venture, and built for the school itself a reputation based upon the character and reputation and the success of his or her own work as an educator. The Episcopal High School had been conducted under the same plan for more than fifty years, but between 1890 and 1900, in the latter part of the headmastership of Dr. Launcelot M. Blackford, this old method had been changed for a new plan, under which the board of trustees itself operated the school and employed the headmaster.

In each case, under the earlier method, the lessee who operated the school ran the risk personally of suffering a financial loss through failure, or enjoyed the financial results of success. The board of trustees of the school received a stipulated rental for the property, but this rental was never large enough in either case to provide for repairs and upkeep, to say nothing of the frequently recurring necessity for the erection of

new buildings required by increasing enrollment. The corporation owning the school was in neither case able to pay for such capital improvements, even though the school itself was proving most successful to the head of the school from the financial as well as from the scholastic point of view. New buildings could only be secured by appeal to generous members of the Episcopal Church for gifts.

As soon, however, as the new plan was put into effect completely at the Episcopal High School, a notable change was brought about in its finances. While under the new plan the board of trustees itself was compelled to assume the risk of a deficit in any year, it was also, on the other hand, able to make use of the profit arising in any year for the development of the property and better equipment of the school. The difference in the results shown by the two methods was strikingly manifest in 1914; the Episcopal High School was able to erect such buildings as were needed from time to time, while the board of trustees of Stuart Hall was floundering in heavy debt.

Such was the situation when Bishop Brown was made a member of the board of trustees of the two schools upon his coming to the diocese. He quickly perceived the root of the financial troubles of Stuart Hall, and took the lead in a movement to change the method of operation of that school to the one which had proven so successful at the Episcopal High School. The continuing success and growth of Stuart Hall since that time shows the wisdom of that change of plan.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH SCHOOLS SYSTEM

The Nationwide Campaign of 1919 gave Bishop Brown his great opportunity of asking for the establishment of a diocesan system of schools. In this campaign the vestry and lay-people of every parish in the whole Episcopal Church were asked to study their own field of opportunity and prepare a list of their needs for new buildings or equipment, in order to enable them as a parish to do more effective work and reach more deeply into the life of their own community. At the same time they were to join with the other parishes in studying the needs of their own diocese for the development of its missionary and promotional work, and help formulate a schedule of diocesan needs of better organization, buildings and equipment that would strengthen and set forward its ministry in every part of its field. Beyond the diocese they were to extend their study and enlarge their interest to cover the whole worldwide field of missionary endeavor of the Episcopal Church. All of the needs in these three fields, as finally agreed upon in every diocese, were combined into one schedule, which after final approval by the

National Council was set before the whole Church as the goal which was to be reached by the gifts and prayers of all her people.

In conferences with clergymen and laymen of the diocese of Virginia, and in the campaign committee appointed by the diocesan council of 1919, as consideration was given to the needs of the missionary work in the mountains, among the Negroes, and in the rural counties, the bishop stressed the importance of the proposed system of boarding and day schools as its greatest and most important need in the field of religious and secular education. That in the end it was so included as one of the largest and most important items in the diocesan program, was an acknowledgement of the leadership of Bishop Brown, and the will of the diocese to follow him: but it was also in a very real sense the fruition of the plan toward which Bishop Gibson had been leading the people of the diocese during his administration; it was the coming to full maturity of an idea that was born in the council of 1875.

The plan as presented by Bishop Brown and approved by the diocesan committee, was to establish a system under the direct control of the council which, after taking into account the Episcopal High School at Alexandria, and Stuart Hall at Staunton, would cover the rest of the diocese and help indeed to serve the needs of the whole state of Virginia. The situation existing at that time was that all the schools in Virginia, which were in any way under the control of the Church, were situated in the western part of the state. Chatham Hall, at Chatham, in Pittsylvania County; the Virginia Episcopal School for Boys at Lynchburg (established by Rev. Dr. Robert C. Jett, in 1916); Stuart Hall at Staunton; St. Anne's School at Charlottesville, and the Episcopal High School at Alexandria. To these might be added the two schools for special needs: St. Andrew's School and Home for Homeless Boys, at Covington, and the Blue Ridge Industrial School in Greene County for mountain children; and to complete the picture, the Bishop Payne Divinity School at Petersburg and St. Paul Normal and Industrial School at Lawrenceville, both established for Negro students.

It was thought that the Valley and the Piedmont section, with the above schools which were within or just outside the bounds of the diocese, were fairly well provided for. Staunton, Chatham and Lynchburg, being outside the diocese could not be taken into a diocesan system, nor could the Episcopal High School be so included. It was, therefore, determined to establish a system which would take in St. Anne's School, acquire by purchase two schools already in operation in the city of Richmond, and establish two new schools in the Tidewater section. There were at that time four excellent schools in Richmond: the McGuire School for Boys, and the Collegiate School for Girls, both

within the city, and the Virginia Randolph Ellett School for Girls and the Chamberlayne Country School for Boys, in the suburban area outside of the then city limits.

It was determined after much consideration that the two "country" schools, with the day pupils spending a much larger part of the day under the control and influence of the school authorities than was usually the case in other schools, would best fit in with the plans of the diocesan committee, and for that reason these two schools were later purchased. They had been started and conducted by successful and most able teachers, the Ellett School by Miss Virginia Randolph Ellett, and the Chamberlayne School by the Rev. Churchill G. Chamberlayne, Ph. D. The city of Richmond owes much to both of them for the ideals of culture and the true educational values which they instilled into the successive generations of pupils who passed through their hands. Miss Ellett gave up the headship of her school when it was acquired by the diocese, but continued to teach, and to live in the school until her death. Dr. Chamberlayne, being in the prime of his usefulness and power, continued as the head of his own school, helping to carry on and to strengthen the aims and ideals of the system of schools by his own experience and success. The names of the two schools were changed to Saint Catherine's School and Saint Christopher's School, respectively, in order that by their very names they might convey the thought of the purpose of religious training and Christian character building, which they were established to carry on.

The Tidewater section (roughly speaking, that part of Virginia east of a line drawn through Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg and Emporia), which as regards schools was the most needy section of the diocese, required the establishment of the two entirely new schools, because there was no school already in existence in a suitable location which could be secured. After much discussion and consideration of sites, the town of Tappahannock was chosen for the location of a school for girls, and a site adjoining the old colonial Christ Church in Middlesex County for the school for boys. To the one was given the name Saint Margaret's School; while for the other, the very location adjoining the two hundred year old church building of Christ Church Parish, with its intimate connection with the history of Virginia, suggested the name of Christchurch School. The people of Tappahannock and Essex County gave five thousand dollars toward the acquirement of property for their school, and in Middlesex County also several thousand dollars were given for theirs.

At the meeting of the council of the diocese in May, 1920, formal approval was given to the establishment of this system of schools, and

the sum of \$200,000 was approved to be raised through the Nation-wide Campaign within the three-year period, with which to acquire the necessary property and put the system into operation. A charter was secured on June 8, 1920, and the corporation "Church Schools in the Diocese of Virginia" was promptly organized with a board of twenty-five members, the provision being placed in the charter that whenever a vacancy should occur in this membership it should be filled by the selection of a new member from two or more persons nominated by the annual council of the diocese of Virginia.

Because of the great achievement won in the establishment of this system of Church boarding and day schools, and the continuing success of the plans put into effect for its development, the names of the first group of members of the board of trustees should be held in gratitude by the people of the diocese. They performed a work far better and more abiding than they perhaps realized at that time. Grasping the vision of Bishop Brown as their leader and making it their own, they set up Christian faith and religious training and the development of the highest ideals of character and conduct as the goal always to be striven for; and built around that ideal a group of schools which, in strength of financial structure and high scholastic standing, will by the blessing of God continue to grow and flourish from generation to generation.

The names of these were:

Rt. Rev. William Cabell Brown, D. D.

*Rev. Edmund L. Woodward,
M. D., D. D.

*Rev. Frederick D. Goodwin,
D. D.

*Rev. W. Roy Mason, D. D.
Rev. W. Russell Bowie, D. D.

Dr. James H. Dillard

Mr. Eppa Hunton

Mr. Thomas D. Stokes

Mr. George C. Gregory

Mr. Gordon Wallace

Mr. John B. Mordecai

Mr. William M. Habliston

Mr. Thomas L. Moore

*Mr. Oliver J. Sands.

Mr. John M. Taylor

Mr. Robert Beverley

*Mr. Lewis C. Williams

*Mr. E. Randolph Williams

Mr. Frederick E. Nolting

Mr. W. Harrison Wellford

*Mr. J. Carson Phillips

Mr. Kenneth Gilpin

Mr. Thomas B. McAdams

Gen. B. D. Spilman

*Mr. E. I. Carruthers

Of these twenty-five members, eight, whose names are starred above, have continued in active service on the board during the past twenty-five years as has also the secretary-treasurer, the Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, who was elected to that position at the first meeting. During this whole period Mr. Oliver J. Sands has been the chairman of the committee, called at first the finance committee but later the executive committee, which carries on the business of the board during the inter-

vals between the stated meetings of the whole body. Such vacancies as have occurred through death, resignation, or removal from the diocese, have been filled by others who have valiantly carried on the ideals and aims of the founders.

From the standpoint of educational organization, the planning of curricula, deciding upon methods of religious instruction, and setting forward in general the ideal of a system of Christian schools, the one member above all others who was most instrumental in starting the new schools, bringing order out of chaos, and charting the system along unfamiliar or unknown ways during the first formative years, was the Rev. Dr. Edmund L. Woodward. A son-in-law and devoted friend of Bishop Gibson, and profoundly interested in the subject of secondary education as a result of his fourteen years' experience as a missionary in China, he strongly seconded and set forward the plans proposed by Bishop Brown, and was greatly instrumental in commending the whole plan to the people of the diocese. Shortly after the system was put into operation, it was realized that an official was needed who could give his whole time to the work of organizing and developing the several schools, and Dr. Woodward was made dean of the system. It would be hard to overestimate or overstate the value of his work in that position: in carrying out the plans of the bishop; in suggesting and supervising; in insisting on the importance of definite courses of religious study in each school, with recognition of such study in the credits given; in consultation with headmasters and headmistresses from time to time upon their own problems; and in urging, and at times insisting upon, the physical development of the schools. The high scholastic standards of the schools today is in great measure due to the standards which he set to be striven for and attained.

The three schools already in operation when acquired by the Church Schools system, began their new career as parts of the diocesan system when they opened their doors to students in September, 1920. Within a year thereafter the locations of the two new schools, both on the Rappahannock River, in the Tidewater section, had been selected, the property purchased, and work begun upon the adaptation of buildings, already standing, to their new duty as school buildings. Within two years both new schools were open, St. Margaret's having started its first session in September, 1921, and Christchurch School in September, 1922. With these five schools the Church Schools system has carried on through fair weather and foul, through storm and stress of severe financial depression and the sunshine of financial prosperity, through mistakes and errors of judgment, and through the successful outcome of careful plan-

ning: the child of many earnest prayers of many people, and by the blessing of God.

From the very first the success of the system has been notable, both in the character and excellence of the several schools themselves and the high standards of scholarship which have been maintained, and also in the strong financial organization which has won for it the respect and confidence of the business men of the community. The estimation in which our schools are held by their patrons is shown by the fact that, with the exception of Christchurch School which has undergone adversities different from the others, every other school in the system has had for several years past a waiting list of pupils seeking admittance who must be refused for lack of room.

Shortly after the diocesan system was started, the congregations of the Episcopal Church in Alexandria and Arlington County, who felt very strongly the need of a school for girls in that city, organized a stock company and established a school of their own, which they named Saint Agnes' School. It was felt at that time that the diocesan system would not be able to undertake the organization and support of this new school until the others already formed had been firmly established, but both within the Church Schools corporation and in Alexandria, and throughout the diocese generally, the hope was expressed that as soon as might be possible, St. Agnes' School should be made an integral part of the diocesan system.

FINANCING A SUCCESSFUL SYSTEM

One most interesting fact about the organization of the board of trustees, and one which may explain in great measure the success of the system, is that of the twenty-five first members, five were clergymen and the remaining twenty were selected from among the ablest business and professional men in the diocese. Among its membership were three schoolmen of long and successful experience, Bishop Brown, Dr. Woodward and Dr. James Hardy Dillard of Charlottesville, the director of the Slater Fund and the Jeanes Fund, and an authority on public education in the Southern states. To these three was given by tacit consent the duty of handling all the educational problems of a group of schools, while to the business men on the board was given the responsibility of working out and solving the financial problems, and of keeping the system of schools as a business organization on an even keel. The one duty which all members of the board held in common, and for which all worked together from the heart, was that the supreme and never-to-be-forgotten purpose and aim of the system, and of every school within it, was to uphold the Christian ideal of character and con-

duct. The fundamental aim must ever be to try to prepare their pupils for life: to teach them how to live, and to make the most out of life, both for themselves individually and for the world of which they were to be a part, and not merely how to make a living.

From the very first the physical development of the schools,—the purchase of additional property when needed, the erection of new buildings in order to accommodate larger numbers of pupils,—has always been the greatest and most urgent financial problem the system has had to solve. The primary gift of \$170,000, instead of the \$200,000 that had been hoped for in the three years of the Nationwide Campaign, did little more than pay for the acquirement of property for the two new schools and the purchase of the land and buildings owned by the three schools already in existence. There was not at any school a sufficient number of buildings for class-room and dormitory use, nor enough equipment; nor, except in the case of Christchurch School, with its 85 acres of land, was there enough land owned by any school for its necessary expansion. Under the conditions existing in 1922, it was clearly seen that no school in the system was able to receive and care for an enrollment large enough to make the school self-supporting.

The definite aim and purpose of all concerned in the matter, the bishop, the members of the board of trustees and the council of the diocese, and indeed the people of the diocese as a whole, has from the first been that, after the diocese had given over a period of years a sufficient amount of money to get the schools well started, the system would then support itself out of the profits of operation of the several schools, without being a continuing drain upon either the diocese or any group of charitably inclined givers for money to cover further deficits. It was also determined from the first that the rates of board and tuition to be charged at our schools should be as low as it might be possible to make them, while still securing therefrom sufficient funds to pay operating expenses and upkeep. It was hoped that, while it seemed necessary to charge \$600 per annum for board and tuition at our schools in Richmond, the other schools might be operated on charges of \$450 at St. Anne's and as low as \$400 at the two schools in the rural section, where the average income of our families was so much lower than in the urban sections, and where the cost of living would be consequently less. The mounting costs of living, which have been on the upward grade ever since the first World War, very quickly showed that the schedule, tentatively approved in 1919 for boarding pupils, would never yield sufficient income to keep the schools solvent without a large amount of constantly repeated outside begging. For that reason both tuition rates and board and other charges have necessarily been increased as conditions seemed to require.

The success of the system in its first two years, and the obvious greatness of the opportunity which was opening before it, convinced the council of the diocese of the necessity of providing an additional amount of money to enable the necessary expansion. A plan was approved in 1922 whereby the diocese agreed to give to the schools system the sum of \$50,000 a year for twelve years. By virtue of this agreement the Church Schools corporation was enabled to borrow at once the sum of \$300,000 upon the security of a first mortgage upon all its real property, and, after paying the indebtedness incurred in the original purchases and the erection of the first buildings, put the remainder into new buildings and additional land where needed. The appropriation of \$50,000 per annum by the diocese paid the interest upon the indebtedness and annual curtail of \$30,000 of principal, and still left a sum amounting to about \$165,000 during the course of the twelve-year period for further strengthening of the system, either in additional capital improvements or in the payment of the inevitable deficits in the operation of one or another of the schools during the first few years.

The interest aroused among the Church people of Richmond in their two schools, St. Catherine's School and St. Christopher's School, resulted in the carrying on of a campaign, called the "St. C's Campaign," for funds for the further development of those two schools. This campaign, which was held in the year 1925, resulted in gifts of money and land amounting to nearly \$100,000, which was divided proportionately between the two schools. The beginning of our scholarship endowment funds came from gifts made in that campaign: the two Judith Cabell Rose Walker scholarships, one at each school, the Lewis Ginter and the Charles E. Whitlock scholarships at St. Christopher's, and the Powell Scholarship at St. Catherine's. Other scholarship funds, which mean much to our system, include the William Cabell Brown Memorial Fund, established by the laymen of the Rappahannock Valley Convocation; the Landon R. Mason Fund, given by Grace and Holy Trinity Church in Richmond in memory of a beloved pastor; the Virginia Randolph Ellett Fund, given by a devoted friend of Miss Ellett; the Elizabeth Dillard Scholarship; the Frank Page Scholarship; and endowments for prizes and other purposes. St. Christopher's School has received within the past two years an endowment fund of over \$40,000 from a few generous friends, and beginnings have been made of funds for granting reductions from board and tuition rates in deserving cases at one or another school. It is to be hoped that as time passes many other endowed scholarships or scholarship funds may be established. While the school system by standing rule makes a reduction of twenty-five per cent in charges to children of the clergy and

foreign missionaries, there are always cases in which it is most desirable to receive a pupil whose family cannot pay the full charges. Indeed it is to be most earnestly urged that never in the future must the board of trustees, or the faculty and local board of any school forget that one of the great purposes in mind in the establishment of our system was the hope of being able to extend the privilege of attendance upon our schools to certain classes or cases of boys and girls whose families might be financially unable to pay the regular rates. To accomplish this, endowed scholarships and funds for the reduction of charges in special cases will always be most necessary.

The growing pressure of the lean years of financial depression, which began in 1929, eventually made it impossible for the diocese to continue making its annual appropriation of \$50,000 through the promised years to 1934, except by doing desperate hurt to its widely extended missionary work. For that reason, and because the refinancing of the indebtedness of the Church Schools system in 1930, and again in 1935, had greatly reduced the amount of interest due upon the remaining indebtedness incurred in 1923, an arrangement was made whereby the diocese would pay each year, for the time being, the interest upon the bonds outstanding without any payment for curtail of principal, and then distribute over a succeeding period of years the remainder of the amount originally promised in 1922. During these years the school system itself, because of its growing success and the ever recurring need of new buildings for the enlargement of facilities, was borrowing upon its own credit and paying both interest and curtails of principal from the income of the schools. By a wise provision of the board of trustees, the rule has been in force for a number of years that, except in the case of emergency, no money must be borrowed for new buildings at any school, unless it can be shown that the proposed enlargement of facilities will yield enough additional income to pay interest upon the money borrowed and proper curtails of principal at stated times. Because of the enforcement of this rule, the system was able in 1939 to relieve the diocese of the payment of the remainder of the pledge made in 1922, which still remained unpaid,—a total of about \$66,000. By that time the schools system, from the standpoint of financial organization and development, was able to stand alone, and, as a system created and owned by the diocese of Virginia, able to carry on its mission of furnishing to the people of the diocese secular education under Christian standards and ideals and definite religious training. May God grant that through the years to come it may ever be an increasingly useful and valuable agency of the Episcopal Church in its field of ministration and service to the people of our state.

EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH SCHOOL SYSTEM

In the decade between 1935 and 1945 the unprecedented growth of population suburban to the City of Washington and on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, brought great growth to St. Agnes' School for Girls, and at the same time produced an imperative need for the establishment of a school for younger boys. Because of the realization that the situation could better be handled by schools belonging to one strong diocesan system than by smaller institutions acting separately, a movement grew for the admission of St. Agnes' School into the diocesan Church Schools system, and for the organization by that system of another school for boys. The board of trustees of Church Schools faced frankly, and with full discussion, the question whether that corporation should consider its sole duty to be the conduct and development of the group of five schools planned in the year 1920, or whether it should maintain its original purpose to be the board of education of the diocese, to provide as fully as it could for the needs of the whole diocese, and to establish additional schools if and when such action should be found both desirable and feasible.

Supported by the expressed desire of the council of the diocese that St. Agnes's School should be taken into the diocesan system, and a further request that the possibility of organizing a school for boys be looked into, the board of trustees of the Church Schools corporation took the definite step of expansion into its own widened field of opportunity. A new school for boys, between the third and eighth grades, was determined upon for the Church people of the Alexandria-Arlington neighborhoods. A tract of approximately five acres, situated within three squares of St. Agnes' School, was acquired, and during the summer of 1944 the large residence and garage located upon the tract were repaired, fitted up and equipped for school purposes, with capacity for about ninety boys. The whole movement and the later development of the property, the organization of the school, selection of faculty, and the multitude of details connected therewith, were under the leadership of the Rev. Edward E. Tate, rector of Immanuel Church in Alexandria, aided by the headmistress, faculty and board of St. Agnes' School. The new school was given the name Saint Stephen's School for Boys. So great was the need and the desire for its establishment that the first days of opening in September, 1944, brought an accepted enrollment of 97 pupils, with a waiting list of forty more.

Shortly after the opening of St. Stephen's School, the many details connected with the transfer of St. Agnes' School to the Church Schools system were completed, and by acquirement of the stock of the

St. Agnes' School corporation by trustees for the diocese, and by formal sale of the school property and goodwill to the diocesan corporation on February 5, 1945, St. Agnes' School took its place as one of the integral schools in the diocesan system. Carrying out the rules already in force a local board was appointed for each new school, consisting in part of members of the general board and in larger part of persons more deeply associated with the particular school itself.

CONCLUSION

So runs the story of the organization and development of our diocesan system of Church Schools. Underlying its past history and all its hopes for the future, as the motivating cause of its existence, is the strong conviction that there are, and always will be, many families who will demand for their children the cultural advantages offered by strong and well-established private schools, and are determined to send their children to such institutions; and that there are very many families who feel so strongly the importance of definite and clear teaching of the Christian faith and its standards of character and conduct as being at the very center of all well-balanced education, that they will desire to send their children to schools where such teaching can be given by trained teachers. To these families our schools look for the privilege of educating their children, in the eager hope that as time passes new ways may be opened and opportunities found of extending their service more widely among the people of our diocese and state.

THE IMPORTANCE OF DR. THOMAS BRAY'S BIBLIOTHECA PAROCHIALIS

*By Samuel Clyde McCulloch**

Edward Edwards, one of the famous English librarians of the mid-nineteenth century, maintained that many of the best libraries owe their origins to the efforts of the clergy.¹ Should a list of these scholarly clergymen ever be compiled, the name of Dr. Thomas Bray would be counted among the most important, for he founded upwards of fifty libraries in America and other countries abroad, and sixty-one in England and Wales.² Moreover, the library plans he projected during his lifetime were carried on after his death, though with somewhat less vision and efficiency. Born at Marton, Shropshire, in 1656, Bray was educated at Oswestry School and Oxford, where he was graduated from All Souls' College in 1678. Having entered holy orders, he served as a country curate, chaplain, and vicar until in 1690 he became rector of Sheldon, Warwickshire. Here he wrote his famous *Catechetical Lectures*. Their publication brought his name before Henry Compton, bishop of London, who, in 1696 (the same year Bray received his D. D. from Magdalen College, Oxford),³ appointed him ecclesiastical commissary of Maryland.

Bray accepted the position only on the condition that he would receive assistance in his library plans.⁴ His insistence was based on the knowledge that the best way to improve the effectiveness of the clergy was to have in each clergyman's home shelves crowded with well chosen books. He knew that the unlearned clergyman was nine times out of ten the unsuccessful clergyman, and often indolent besides. Ac-

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¹Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries* (London, 1859), II, pp. 556-557.

²*Report for the Year 1840, of the Institution established by the late Dr. Bray and His Associates for Founding Clerical Libraries in England and Wales and Negro Schools in British America* (London, 1841), p. 34.

³Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), I, p. 173. John Wolfe Lydekker's most recent article entitled, "Thomas Bray (1658-1730): Founder of Missionary Enterprise," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XII (September, 1943), pp. 187-214, gives Bray's year of birth as 1658. For Bray's date of baptism Mr. Lydekker checked the baptismal registers of Chirbury, through the courtesy of the incumbent, the Rev. S. W. Rodin. The date was May 2, 1658, and Mr. Lydekker feels that the baptismal entry of 1658 is the year of Bray's birth.

⁴Sion College MSS., "Bray, Maryland, Bishoprics, etc." (L. C. Photo), p. 8. (Hereafter cited as Sion Coll. MSS.)

according to Bray's practical reasoning a clergyman must have not only a kind heart, but also a full head. But the average clergymen going out to the colonies were too poor to afford many books and, therefore, could not build up private libraries; neither were there private persons nor public institutions from which they could borrow books. As a result Bray set to work to see that overseas parishes had adequate libraries. From this step evolved a whole system of supplying not only the colonies, but the home area of England and Wales as well.

Forced to remain in England until 1699 by the postponement of the crown's approval of an act establishing the Anglican Church in Maryland, which had been passed by that colony's Assembly in 1696, Dr. Bray gave his attention to two important problems. The first was the selection of well-qualified missionaries, and the second, and more important in Bray's eyes, the means of supplying the missionaries with libraries.

Bray's first step in fulfilling his library plans was to issue a small pamphlet in 1696 entitled, *Proposals for the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations*.⁵ Deploing the lack of books in the colonies, Bray went into detail concerning the cost and method of purchasing libraries, the preservation of lending libraries, and the marking and care of books. The next year Bray published a larger and more ambitious plan. Called *An Essay Towards Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge, both Divine and Human, In all the Parts of His Majesty's Dominions, Both at Home and Abroad*,⁶ it contained proposals to the gentry and clergy for purchasing lending libraries for Maryland, Virginia, and other foreign plantations. It also elaborated the suggestions made the previous year, and concluded by suggesting titles for desirable books, classifying some sixty-three works—Church history (6), general history (4), geography and travel (11), theology (36), Latin classics (4), medicine (1), and garden- ing (1).⁷

This last idea of proposing titles matured into Bray's largest plan, which he published during the same year in book form as the *Bibliotheca Parochialis: or, a Scheme of such Heads both General and Particular, as are More peculiarly Requisite to be well Studied by every Pastor of*

⁵Reprinted for Thomas Bray Club, 1916. For the date and correct authorship of Bray's pamphlet see Lawrence C. Wroth, "Dr. Bray's 'Proposals for the Incouragement of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations'—A Bibliographical Note," Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, LXV (October, 1932-August, 1936), pp. 518-534.

⁶Reprinted in Maryland Historical Society *Publication No. 37* (Bernard C. Steiner, ed., *Rev. Thomas Bray, His Life and Select Works Relating to Maryland*, Baltimore, 1901), pp. 51-70. (Hereafter cited as Md. Hist. Soc. Pub. No. 37.)

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 67-70.

a Parish.⁸ This book was intended to promote his library schemes and guide the missionaries in the tasks they had undertaken by listing all the books that would be useful in the colonies—or in Great Britain, for that matter. In the introduction Bray wrote:

Such an inestimable Benefit to Mankind, are a Clergy that do thoroughly understand, and industriously preach the Genuine Doctrines of Christianity.

In order to achieve this aim they must have books.

And this has been the great Aim in that Collection of Books here Recommended, as proper to enable our Clergy to Advance the Blessed Work proposed in those Plantations where they are to Minister.⁹

Bray indicated that a minister should have a well-rounded education, including nature study, mathematics, history, law and government.¹⁰ He also interspersed among his bibliographical suggestions some technical suggestions similar to those appearing in the previous two pamphlets. A second, and greatly enlarged edition of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, appeared in 1707,¹¹ and it is this enlarged edition whose importance merits a discussion in detail.

The work is a bibliographical treatise *par excellence*. Indeed, it is a very monument of erudition, and must have somewhat depressed those for whom the book was intended—ministers going out to the colonies—because it was supposed to represent an idea of the books they should take. Although it was 412 pages in length, Bray planned a second volume—which never reached the press. The scope of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, numbering thousands of titles, with extensive commentaries, indicates the careful scholarship of the man, and furnishes also a significant bibliographical analysis of the ecclesiastical learning of the time. It is also important because the libraries Bray sent to the colonies followed as closely as possible the suggestions laid down in it. Finally, it is important because many of the notes and comments furnish an unusual insight into Bray's character and point of view. A note at the front is typical of Bray's sly humor. He wrote: "The *Errata*, occasion'd by the Author's great Distance from the Press are desir'd to be Corrected by the Pen of the Candid Reader, as they shall occur."

⁸A part of this is reprinted in Md. Hist. Soc. *Pub.* No. 37, pp. 191-205. For the full text see the copy in the Huntington Library published by Robert Clavel, London.

⁹Md. Hist. Soc. *Pub.* No. 37, pp. 194, 197.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹¹Printed in London by S. H. for R. Wilkin.

Bray divided the work into seven chapters, after having provided a thirty-eight page analytical table of the contents; he also made a twenty-six page table for the projected second volume as well. In his introduction he revealed in emphatic terms his views about the dignity and importance of the ministry, especially in regard to their education:

There being no Office in its Nature of greater Dignity; in its Design of greater Use; in the due Execution of more publick Benefit; and in the Mal-administration of more fatal Consequence; and which lastly meets with greater Opposition from Satan and all his Emissaries, Infidels, Hereticks and Libertines, than the Pastoral Office: It is infinitely requisite, that of all others this should be undertaken with the greatest Precaution, and with the least of Rashness and Inconsideration; and that every Candidate for Holy Orders would duly Inspect, as those Books, which have been written upon the foregoing Consideration, so the best Ministerial Directories relating to Studies Theological; To the Pastoral Duties; To that Circumspect, Holy and Exemplary Living; And to that Prudence in Conduct, accompany'd with Courage and Zeal, which is requisite to render their Labours more effectual. And that Missionaries should do this more especially. And it is also requisite, together therewith they should duly survey the Lives of our Saviour and his Apostles; and of the Fathers, Divines, and others who have been most Eminent in their Generations, both for their Piety, and a Publick Spirit. All this precedaneous to their Undertaking the Ministerial Functions in order to Instruct others.¹²

Bray also insisted that a minister should have a wide general knowledge, particularly in history:

History, not only Ecclesiastical, but Civil, is of the greatest Use, to the better Understanding both of the Sacred Scriptures, and all the Parts of Ecclesiastical Learning; and so as to be exceedingly necessary to be read concurrently therewith, as may appear by running over the foregoing Scheme of Theological Heads; And that so, as even the Fabulous and Legendary Parts of History may have their Use: It is humbly conceiv'd to be by no means Foreign to the proper Studies of a Minister of Religion, and of a Missionary in particular; to be thoroughly Read in the several Species or sorts of History, viz. Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Personal or Biography; Topographical, Secret, Fabulous, and Various; As also in the Miscellaneous History Appendent to each; And that for the more Regular

¹²Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis: or, a Scheme of such Theological and Other Heads, as seem requisite to be perus'd, or Occasionally consulted by the Reverend Clergy*, I, pp. 1-2.

Reading, he proved therein according to the following Scheme, taking in as preparative, Gyography, Voyages, and Travels, and likewise Chronology.¹³

The first chapter, comprising ministerial directories, is designed to assist in pastoral care and duties. The second chapter is devoted to books about "historico-Philosophical Discourses in the Divine Existence,"¹⁴ and the third to pneumatology, "or what concerns us to know of those Spiritual, Immaterial, and Immortal Substances, which are in Dignity next to God, Viz. Angels, and the Souls of Men."¹⁵ Chapters four, five, and six concern natural religion and moral philosophy; heresy; and scriptural criticism and commentary, respectively. In chapter six Bray says that a clergyman "should be provided with such Books as shall best enable him, 1. To know the Text itself, II. To understand the meaning of it, and III. To apply it skilfully to the Edification of others."¹⁶

The seventh, and final, chapter is entitled, "Church Fathers, Councils, Liturgies, and Rituals," and is by far the most extensive in the book, covering pages 145 to 412. Bray's division of the several ages of the Church is as follows:

- (1) Apostolical Age
- (2) Period before the Conversion of Constantine
- (3) Constantine to the Fall and Division of the Roman Empire on the death of Valentinian III
- (4) Fall and Division of Rome to the Introduction of the Roman Office by Charles the Great
- (5) Boniface III to Gregory VII
- (6) Gregory VII to the Reformation
- (7) The Reformation onwards.¹⁷

The headings in the preliminary or introductory section reveal the comprehensive nature of this chapter. Besides the works of the Church fathers, a clergyman should know the following, and he lists at least four books for each heading:

- (1) Ecclesiastical Chronology, History and Geography
- (2) History of the Ancient Persecution, and Martyrologies
- (3) History and Account of the Ancient Heresies
- (4) History of the Ancient Popes
- (5) History of Ancient Monarchism

¹³Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, n. p.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 30-35.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 36-41.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 145-412.

- (6) The History of the Works of the Fathers, and to know the subject Matters Treated of by them, and also to distinguish the Genuine from the Spurious, and to know the Editions.
- (7) A Critical Censure upon the Style and Doctrine of the Ancient Writers
- (8) To discover the Corruption and false Dealing about the Works of the Fathers
- (9) On the Authority and Use of the Writings of the Fathers
- (10) An Historical Account of the Doctrine of the Church in several Ages
- (11) Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and the Ancient Discipline of the Church
- (12) Lexicographers necessary to the undertaking of Ecclesiastical Writers

A quick sample of the wide range of reading offered on every page of Bray's work may now be given. Under the section headed, "The Lives of our Saviour and his Apostles: of the Fathers also Divines, and others of Eminent and Exemplary Piety Holiness and Vertue, and of such as have been peculiarly Eminent for an active and publick Spirit, and upon both accounts most worthy of Imitation," appear the following titles:

First, the Lives of our Saviour and his Apostles; of the Fathers also, and of later Divines of Eminent and Exemplary Piety, and Holiness

Dr. *Taylor's* Life of *Christ*

Dr. *Cave's* Lives of the Apostles, and of the Primitive Fathers of the four first Centuries

Ellis Dupin's Evangelical History, or the Life of our Blessed Saviour *Jesus Christ*, comprehensively and plainly related, with practical Inferences and Discourses thereupon

—The Evangelical History, Part the Second; being the Lives and Acts of the Holy Apostles, comprehensively and plainly related according to Scriptures, and the Writings of the Primitive Fathers of most Approv'd Authority

Melichior Adamus de Vitis Theologorum exterorum Principum, qui Ecclesiam Christi seculo propagarunt & propugnarunt

Vita Savanarolae

Camerari Vita Melanchthonia

Episcopii Vita per Limborchum

Clark's Lives

Forbesii Vita tum Externa tum Interna

Humphrey's Life of Bishop *Jewel*

Bishop *Burnet's* Life of Bishop *Bedel*

Bishop *Fell's* Life of Dr. *Hammond*, or before his Practical Discourses

Jackson's, Bramhall's, Mede's, Lightfoot's, Barrow's, Lives, before their Works

Dr. *Parr's* Life of Archbishop *Usher*

Isaac Walton's	}	Dr. <i>Donn</i>
Lives of		Mr. <i>Herbert</i>
		Sir <i>Henry Wotton</i>
		Bishop <i>Saunderson</i>

Secondly, the Lives of others, as well *Ethnicks*, as *Laicks*, Eminent for their singular Vertue and Piety

The Life of *Pomponious Atticus*, with Observations thereupon by Sir *Matthew Hales*

N. A book of singular use especially in Party Times, as it exhibits one of the most noble and generous Examples; and extremely worthy the Imitation of great Personages; of one, who admits the greatest Divisions of the State, and bloodiest Prosecutions by those who got to be uppermost; yet was always in a most peculiar manner, munificent to Persons eminent for their Learning or Merits, when under the Displeasure of a prevailing Power, without any regard to Parties, or the Difference of their Sentiments in State Opinions. And the Life, as it was written by *Cor Nepos*, has had great Improvements to this purpose by the Observations thereon of Sir *Matthew Hales*.

The Life of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*

Vita Constantini Magni, per *Eusebium*

The Life of *K. Charles* the First

The Life of Sir *Matthew Hales*, by the Bishop of *Sarum*

The Life of Dr. *D. Renty*

The Life of Mr. *Bommel*

Thirdly, the Lives of certain Persons peculiarly Eminent for their Publick and Active Spirits

Vita Perieskii, per *Gassendum*

The History of the Troubles and Tryal of Archbishop *Laud*, with the Diary of his own Life, and the History of his Chancellorship in *Oxford*

The Life of Mr. *Boyle*, when published¹⁸

As the above indicates, not the least intriguing sections of the book are the notes by *Bray*. Interspersed between the titles are kindly words of advice, severe admonitions, and shrewd bibliographical criticisms. He advises those who are studying his chapter on natural religion as follows:

¹⁸Thomas *Bray*, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, p. 26.

I conceive it convenient to read the Ancient Greek Poets, together with their Greek Scholiasts; and that you do not look on them barely as idle Romances, but as grave Philosophers and Historians; for such they were reputed not only in their own Times, but also by all their Followers, as involving Divine, and Natural, and Historical Notions of their Gods and Hero's, under Mystical and Parabolical Expressions.¹⁹

Unusually pointed and frank for a clergyman is the following unequivocal statement in chapter one:

Assure yourselves, that it were much more beneficial for the Edification of your Flock that you were Hypocritical, than Licentious . . . for the Hypocrite only perisheth himself . . . But the Scandalous Licentious Person is like the Dragon in the Revelation, that involves the very Stars in his ruin.²⁰

In another he gives a sound and open-minded admonition:

Here I would particularly recommend to the Reading of a Minister all those virulent Books that are written by the Enemies of our Order . . . For as the Excellent Plutarch . . . shews, the best Rules and Measures for an exact and prudent Conduct are to be taken from our Enemies, who do narrowly watch our Failings.²¹

Moreover, over half these notes are written in Latin.

The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* was a notable contribution to Bray's library plans. Information about these and how they were carried out can be found in an unpublished document in Sion College Library, London. The initial part of this unfinished work by Bray, the *Bibliotheca Americanae Quadripartitae*, shows the structure of several of his libraries, and lists nineteen catalogues to indicate how far his plans were perfected.²² A comparison of these catalogues with the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* reveals how this book was used as an invaluable guide.

The majority of the books in Bray's libraries, as was stipulated in the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, were of a theological nature. A description of one of his libraries indicates the ambitious scope of his aims. Sent on December 2, 1700, to Bathtown, St. Thomas's Parish, Pamlico, in

¹⁹Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, p. 48.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 23.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 20.

²²Sion Coll. MSS., pp. 263ff. A catalogue of the library which Bray sent to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1698, is reprinted in Edgar Legare Pennington's "The Beginnings of the Library in Charles Town, South Carolina," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, XLIV (April 18, 1934-October 17, 1934), pp. 167-174. The writer has just discovered Dr. Pennington's excellent article, which, among things, throws further light upon those who supported Bray's library enterprises.

North Carolina, it numbered thirty-eight folios, nineteen quartos, and 109 octavos. An analysis of the contents runs as follows—the customary number of theological works including Bibles, Prayer Books, *The Whole Duty of Man*, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, the anti-Quaker book: *The Snake in the Grass*, Bishop Edward Stillingfleet's *Vindication of the Trinity*, and many others. In addition there were eleven works of history and travel, two geographies, five dictionaries, three works each on mathematics, natural history, heraldry, biography and law, four ancient classics, the same number of works on grammar and language, three books of essays, two books on sports, and one each on medicine, mythology, and poetry. This last was *Hudibras*!²³ With the parochial library was sent a layman's library numbering 870 volumes and pamphlets.²⁴

The contents of all Bray's libraries varied little: the Bible, the Prayer Book, catechisms, and many of the standard theological works of the day as laid out in the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*. Dr. Louis B. Wright, in his article, "The Purposeful Reading of our Colonial Ancestors," mentions, among other works, *The Whole Duty of Man*, Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and William Camden's *Britannia* as being commonly read by all of the English colonists in America.²⁵ These three invariably appeared in Bray's libraries. Non-theological works in his libraries varied little from those mentioned already in the Pamlico library in North Carolina, and were extremely common during his life.²⁶ Curiously enough John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, more popularly called "The Book of Martyrs," which the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* listed and which Dr. Wright mentions as being popular among all colonists, was not in the catalogues appearing in the Sion College manuscript.

The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* is important to Bray's biographers, to historians of the Anglican Church, and to historians interested in the colonial period in American history. As a personal record, it gives

²³Sion Coll. MSS., pp. 285-292. Quite a number of the books were well known, and their titles appear in the lists printed in the following two articles by Louis B. Wright: "The 'Gentleman's Library' in Early Virginia: The Library Interests of the First Carters," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, I (October, 1937), pp. 3-61, and "Richard Lee, II, a Belated Elizabethan in Virginia," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, II (October, 1938), pp. 1-35.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 293-295. In view of the usefulness of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* to early Americana, it is strange that Dr. White Kennett's *Bibliotheca Americanae Primordia* (London, 1713) omits the work entirely, yet mentions every other book Bray wrote between 1696 and 1700 which had any bearing on the colonies. Dr. Kennett's work is one of the best bibliographies of early Americana.

²⁵Louis B. Wright, "The Purposeful Reading of our Colonial Ancestors," *ELH, A Journal of English Literary History*, IV (June, 1937), pp. 85-111.

²⁶See Robert Watts, *Bibliotheca Britannica; or A General Index to British and Foreign Literature* (4 vols., London, 1824).

the thesis and the arguments for Bray's philosophy regarding the nature of his calling and its relation to eighteenth century society in general. While not defining the type of mind and personality which make the ideal clergyman, he implied those requisites by discussing the type of education necessary for a successful clergyman and the kind of subsequent intellectual sustenance which was necessary. Notable for a clergyman of that period, and for one of the orthodoxy and missionary leanings such as characterize Bray, is the place of useful "human" knowledge; of sound secular training; of true respect for philosophers and religious men of the earlier "heathen" cultures. They are given almost as much emphasis as the conventional Anglican theological training.

The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* is important to those interested in Anglican Church history in that it was an important instrument of the missionary activities of the period both at home and abroad. It served both shepherds and sheep alike. While the contents are now outdated, they make an interesting record of the ecclesiastical bibliographical "musts" and reflect the friends and enemies of the Church.

The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* is important to historians interested in the colonial years of American history because it was an influence on American culture of the time. When one considers that the libraries based on this bibliography, accompanied by certain lay libraries collected by Bray, comprised the main body of reading material available to many of the colonials,²⁷ the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* becomes a valuable sociological document. Just how great an influence it had is not yet known, but it might have been considerable, particularly when one thinks of the importance of books in the forming of religious and political beliefs and philosophies.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: This article is an expansion of a description and evaluation of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* in the writer's monograph, "Dr. Thomas Bray's Commissary Work in London, 1696-1699," published in the October, 1945, issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

²⁷During his lifetime Bray sent upwards of 34,000 books and tracts to America. See appendix to Samuel Smith, *Public Spirit, Illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray, D. D.* H. J. Todd, ed. (London, 1808).

THE COOLEY SCRAPBOOK OF THE BISHOPS

*By James M. L. Cooley**

It was in the early eighteen-nineties that a student at the Theological Seminary in Virginia conceived the notion of a rather unusual scrapbook. He decided that as a hobby and for his own personal enjoyment he would form a collection of pictures of all the members of the American episcopate, with a short biographical sketch of each. At that time there had been only about 160 bishops consecrated in the Episcopal Church, and it was a comparatively easy matter to start with the pictures of most of them. Nevertheless, there were gaps; and as time went on, and with it periods of lack of interest or lack of time to indulge his hobby, the gaps increased.

For forty years, however, this priest of the Church did not give up; and, when retirement came, he immediately gave his attention to the possibility of completing as far as possible his remarkable collection, and acquiring pictures of the thirty-two which were missing. These were finally secured through the kindness of the Church Historical Society, and in the summer of 1938 the "Scrapbook," which was now well into the second volume, contained pictures of all the bishops of the Episcopal Church who had been consecrated up to that year, beginning with Bishop Seabury, short biographical sketches of each, and a few autographs and autographed letters.

The priest above mentioned was the Reverend Frank E. Cooley, who spent his entire ministry in the dioceses of Kentucky, Lexington and Southern Ohio, and died in 1939. He gave the "Scrapbook" to the writer, his son, in the fall of 1938, and the latter has been very interested and diligent in keeping it up to date, increasing the biographical data of former bishops, and adding as much as possible to the number of autographs and autographed letters.

At the present writing the "Scrapbook" contains pictures of all the 466 bishops—arranged in order of consecration—autographs or autographed letters of about 200 of them, and more or less complete biographical data of all of them. Continual search is being made for information to fill out the sketches of the ones no longer living, and it is hoped they will eventually be completed.

*Mr. Cooley is a member of the faculty of Shattuck School, Faribault, Minnesota.

The following are the items of information necessary for a "complete" sketch; date and place of birth; parents, including mother's maiden name; name of college and seminary, date of graduation from each and degrees; dates (including month and day) and places of ordination to the diaconate and priesthood and name of the bishop officiating; date of marriage and wife's maiden name; charges prior to consecration with year dates; date and place of consecration; honorary degrees and other items of general interest, including kinship with other bishops, past and present; date of resignation and date and place of death.

In February, 1944, in an effort to secure from the sources as much information as possible, questionnaires were sent to all members of the House of Bishops—except two who were unreachable—and as new bishops were consecrated questionnaires were sent to them. The response has been most gratifying. One hundred and sixty-four requests were sent, and one hundred and fifty-three replies have been received. These questionnaires were sent because certain bits of information desired are not to be found in *The Living Church Annual* or *Stowe's Clerical Directory*.

In 1940 Bishop Keeler, of Minnesota, took the "Rogues' Gallery"—as he calls it—to General Convention in Kansas City and persuaded over seventy-five of the bishops present to autograph the book beside their pictures. These autographs, as well as informal pictures and pictures of the men at different ages, enhance considerably the interest in the collection.

The present owner is very proud of his possession. Because of its completeness, he believes it to be unique—at least he has never heard of another one like it in private hands. He would be glad to know of any others comparable to it as he does not wish to claim something which cannot be substantiated for his "Scrapbook."

A SYMPOSIUM CONCERNING *HIGHLIGHTS OF ANGLICAN CHURCH HISTORY*

Edited by Walter H. Stowe

INTRODUCTION

A 47 page booklet under the above title has recently appeared, intended apparently for the laity, with the laudable purpose of helping them to become better acquainted with the history of the Anglican Church. The author's name is not given. The place of publication is listed as 247 W. Lovell Street, Kalamazoo 8, Michigan. On the back of the title page appears the statement:

"This booklet was compiled by a churchman from sources regarded as authentic."

The writing of such a booklet is no easy matter. Every word counts; therefore, every word must be weighed. Not only must every statement of fact be accurate, but the interpretations of the facts must be in accord with sound scholarship. More than that, the over-all tone of the exposition must be right. This involves problems of proportional treatment, of positive versus negative emphasis, and of correct impressions from necessarily succinct statements. By and large, only an historical expert can do well such a task.

Believing that booklets for the laity should be subjected to expert opinion just as much as more substantial works, which they usually never see, I submitted a copy of this booklet, together with a copy of my own criticisms, to nine historical experts of the Episcopal Church. Seven of the nine are professors of Church history in theological seminaries; one is a scholar of the Church of England, and one is professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles, whose researches have inevitably involved much Church history.

Two of the seminary professors did not reply at all; two replied, but did not wish to be represented in the symposium. The five reviews given below are presented in alphabetical order of the authors' names, except that my own comments are placed first for one reason only: each of the others wrote his review with my comments before him, and, therefore, did not repeat my criticisms if he agreed with them.

THE EDITOR'S CRITICISMS

1. The author should put his name on the title page.
2. Page 12—The names and sees of the British bishops at the Council of Arles should be given.
3. The use of sub-headings in such a booklet is a good thing, but several additional ones should be used:

- a. p. 17—"Restraints on Papal Aggression."
- b. p. 18—"The Renaissance" (A paragraph on this subject should be inserted.)
- c. p. 21—"Edward VI and the First English Prayer Book."
- d. p. 24—"The Marian Reaction."
- e. p. 26—"The Elizabethan Era."
- f. p. 30—"James I and the English Bible."
- g. p. 32—"The Puritan Revolution."
- h. p. 35—"The Restoration."
- i. p. 36—"The S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G." (Nothing is said about them, but something should be said.)
- j. p. 37—Eliminate the sub-heading, "The Four Georges," and substitute "The Evangelical Revival."

4. There is no indication in this booklet that the American Episcopal Church is a daughter of the Church of England. A paragraph on this subject should be inserted, with a proper sub-heading, on p. 40, before "Anglican Holy Orders."

5. There is no indication in this booklet that the Anglican Communion is a much bigger thing than the Church of England. A paragraph or two, with its proper sub-heading, should be added on "The Anglican Communion," showing its worldwide character and that it is a group of autonomous Churches, etc.

6. One page ought to be devoted to a select list of sound books, booklets, etc., for further reading by interested laymen.

WALTER H. STOWE.

 COMMENTS BY DR. HARDY

The success which I understand the pamphlet, *Highlights of Anglican Church History*, has already achieved shows the value of such a vigorous, clear, and interestingly written treatment of the subject. As such it is to be welcomed, and has, I believe, already been of considerable use. It seems probable, however, that greater care could have been exercised both in form and content without impairing the vigor of the writing. Obviously the heading, "Henry VIII," should not cover the whole English Reformation. Some facts should have been checked more carefully instead of being left under the vague reference "it is claimed." And nobody ought to repeat the discredited story that a Pope once issued a dispensation for bigamy, which was the Lutheran solution for problems like that of Henry VIII—the Renaissance Popes have enough to answer for without that; but the author was doubtless

misled by apparently respectable authorities. Finally there is, as a general point of form, no sufficient reason for concealing the author's name and the date of publication, though they need not necessarily appear on the title page of a pamphlet.

One would like further to see some emphasis in such a treatment on the positive achievements of Anglicanism—its missions, its scholarship, its piety and literature, and the spread of the Church in the United States, for instance. Much of our writing in defense of the Church is too exclusively devoted to the anti-Roman controversy. The latter is unfortunately necessary at times; but it should not absorb attention to the exclusion of the glories of our own tradition. It should be possible to write as incisively on why it is a fine thing to be an Episcopalian as on the negative proposition that it is not necessary to salvation to be a Roman Catholic. I would like to see the author of this pamphlet try it.

E. R. HARDY, JR.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*

COMMENTS BY PROFESSOR KLINGBERG

I agree with all of your comments and suggestions. Since the tract is intended for an American audience, the American side needs emphasis. Also the facts should be carefully checked. The Spanish Armada, for example, attacked in 1588, not 1587; Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed in 1587. On the same page, 30, "Many" might well be changed to "Those," which fits into the next sentence, emphasizing the fact that Elizabeth was not bloodthirsty.

Mention might be made of the fact that all the autonomous Episcopal Churches are institutions not of theological controversy but of Christian achievement. The English Church during the nineteenth century carried on a titantic missionary program through the S. P. G. and the Church Missionary Society, to cite but two bodies. This work compares favorably, to put the matter mildly, with the greatest successes of the Roman Catholic missionary organizations.

The Anglican missionary went over the face of the earth. He founded the Episcopal Church in Canada, in Australia, to mention two instances. I wonder whether there has ever been a greater or a more successful crusade in Christian history; and the work stands firm today. The S. P. G. alone in the nineteenth century sent approximately 1,500 missionaries to Canada and Newfoundland and about 500 to Australia and New Zealand. To the American colonies before 1783 the number sent was about 350.

Norman Sykes has shown that the Anglican parson of the eighteenth century was not asleep but hard working. I wonder why attention is so often called to the man lying in the shade and so little to the men out in the sun swinging their hoes. Perhaps, it is in part due to the fact that the Episcopalian likes to swing his hoe as quietly as possible. But what a fine crop he brings in: churches built, colleges founded, honest citizens for the community.

This tract, in my opinion, should clearly remain the author's own. Another man would write a different booklet.

To my mind there is but little profit in entering into logistic which a well trained Jesuit loves to take part. In other words, the Living Church should have the spotlight.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

*University of California
at Los Angeles.*

COMMENTS BY MR. MIDDLETON

This is a very valuable little book giving in very brief outline the story of the Anglican Church. Its value, however, would be greatly increased if the wide world character of the Anglican Communion could be clearly stated, and a paragraph on the American Episcopal Church showing its origin from and close alliance with the Church of England. There should also be some account of the S. P. C. K. and of the S. P. G. One page given up to a list of simple books to which the interested reader could turn for further information should be given.

The use of sub-headings is helpful to a ready grasp of the subject. These sub-headings might with advantage be increased in number. We should like the author to know how highly we appreciate his valuable attempt to provide in ready form a brief account of our Church for the many layfolk who are often unable to obtain accurate information, and at the same time to suggest to him that he should re-write it and add his name.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

COMMENTS BY PROFESSOR SALOMON

Having been invited to contribute some constructive criticism concerning this anonymous booklet, the present writer has to start with the suggestion to change either the title or the contents. The title arouses the expectation of a history of the Anglican Communion; what the booklet gives is essentially a history of the Church of England, so strictly limited that not even Wales or Ireland is considered. Under this flag it carries, however, some cargo which has little to do with either topic and should be replaced by more essential things. The comparatively lengthy discourse on or against the Petrine theory, in which by the way Luke 22:32 is overlooked, and the history of the Vatican Council, which was held in St. Peter's and not in the Vatican Palace, as well as the sketch of the Old Catholic Church are out of place in such a short survey. It would have been more useful to say something about the Evangelicals in the 19th century and not merely make a sweep over the "many who were antagonistic to the Tractarians." The whole recent history of the Church since the times of

the Oxford movement is treated much too briefly in comparison with e. g. the personal affairs of King Henry VIII. Frederick Temple and the *Essays and Reviews*, Lightfoot and Westcott, Charles Gore and William Temple and what they stood for deserve a place even in a popular history.

The difficulties of an author who is expected to give a long story in a nutshell may be an excuse for many omissions; but an Anglican Church history without Wiclif looks like Hamlet without the Prince. The cold and technical aspect of the Constitutions of Clarendon should not have deterred the author from indicating at least the reason why Thomas Becket was murdered. Here it just happens, and King Henry II "disclaimed responsibility."

As usual in popular presentations of English Church history the contrast between England and Rome looms too large in the early parts of the story. The Anglo-Saxon Church of the early Middle Ages was no more and no less independent from Rome than the Church in France or Germany in the same period. The great mistake is that the Gregorian idea of a world-dominating papacy is so often ascribed, unhistorically, to the predecessors of Gregory VII. Anglo-Saxon England was in the same relations to Rome as any other country, with Ine of Wessex and other kings going on pilgrimages to St. Peter's grave, with Dunstan receiving his pall from Rome and the Peter's Pence being paid without resistance.

In a new edition the author should not try so hard to speak the language of the Sunday school. The ever-repeated formula, "History tells us," should disappear. On this occasion he could also correct some mistakes, as e. g., his remark about the Donation of Constantine, the date of which is by no means uncertain (between 757 and 776) or the name of the False Decretals. The famous passages in Clement and Tertullian on the Church in Britain should not be quoted without an evaluation, for which the necessary material can be found in Haddan and Stubbs.

RICHARD G. SALOMON.

*Bexley Hall,
Gambier, Ohio.*

COMMENTS BY DR. WHITMAN

It is of the Protestant-before-and-Catholic-after-the-Reformation type of apologetic that I think is inaccurate. The following is a partial list of criticisms:

p. 4. The statements about the early liturgies, and about the Joannine authorship of Revelation are very uncertain.

p. 5. The implication seems to be that Eusebius gives something like a complete list of pre-Nicene bishops. This should be made more clear.

p. 6. Jerusalem was the latest of the list to obtain patriarchal dignity.

p. 11. Alexander II should be Alexander VI.

p. 12. Can the indelibility of orders, in view of the Eastern doctrine, be said to have been held always?

p. 12. 70 is too early for I Clement. The quoted statement probably has no reference to Britain, anyway.

p. 13. I do not think it accurate to speak of the "union of many of the British churches with the Roman mission"; certainly not at Hertford.

p. 14. "The Church of England was quite free from any control, etc." Unless an absurdly extreme meaning is assigned to "control" this statement is false. It should be made clear, in connection with William, that the question of the Pope's feudal sovereignty over England is quite distinct from the question of the Pope's jurisdiction over the Church.

p. 21. The extent of the changes under Henry is understated—no mention of the suppression of religious houses, the loss of legislative power by convocation, etc.

p. 22. The following differences are understated:

(a) Between the Edwardine Prayer Books and the old services.

(b) Between the first and second Edwardine Prayer Books.

pp. 26-27. "There were but few, etc." It ought to be pointed out that all the bishops objected.

p. 28. "In the presence of bishops, priests, noblemen and commoners"—exaggerated. The time and place of Parker's consecration are still a matter of some debate.

p. 29. The statement about the "proposition" is almost certainly false.

p. 33. "Most of them without theological education"—this is so uncertain as to be unfair to the Puritans.

p. 37. I do not think the picture is really fair to the 18th century Church.

In as small a pamphlet as this the amount of space given to the Old Catholic movement is too great. (This lack of proportion is characteristic of the whole pamphlet.) There should certainly be space given to the Anglican Communion as a whole.

W. FREEMAN WHITMAN.

*Nashotah House,
Nashotah, Wisconsin.*

NEWS NOTES

NAVY CHAPLAIN LEAVES SERVICE

The Rev. Edgar L. Pennington, S. T. D., who has been a chaplain in the United States Naval Reserve since August, 1941, has recently been relieved from active duty.

Chaplain Pennington was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve and ordered to duty first at the United States Naval Air Station, Jacksonville, Florida. He was given leave of absence from the Church of the Holy Cross, Miami, Florida, where he had been rector for a number of years, but later, as his period of service lengthened in the Reserve, he deemed it unwise and unfair to the Church to continue on leave of absence, and, therefore, presented his resignation.

From Jacksonville, Florida, he was ordered to U. S. Naval Mobile Hospital #4, and during this period of duty had many interesting experiences and rendered splendid service at various points in the South Pacific. In New Zealand he was privileged to preach in over 30 of our churches, and was the first American Episcopal clergyman invited to assist in an Anglican ordination in New Zealand. He also preached before the General Synod of the Province and was given the honor of preaching in the Cathedral at Auckland on Independence Day. The Rt. Rev. W. J. Simpkins, bishop of Auckland, had a farewell function for the chaplain when he left and during the address spoke of his "great value as an ambassador from America to the Church in New Zealand."

From his duties in the Southwest Pacific he went to Tent City, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, where he was on duty with the United States Marine Corps, and from there to the Submarine Base, Navy #128, Hawaiian Islands.

Chaplain Pennington was released from active duty with the rank of lieutenant commander.—*The Southern Churchman*.

Editor's note: Dr. Pennington is well known to our readers as an associate editor of this Magazine, and as a valued contributor to its pages. He has recently become rector of St. John's Church, Mobile, Alabama. His address is: 205 So. Dearborn St., Mobile 21.

NUMBER OF MISSIONARIES OF THE S. P. G. AS OF APRIL 22, 1736

"The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts has at present 18 missionaries in New England, 1 in New Foundland,

17 at New York, 6 at New Jersey, 8 at Pennsylvania, 1 at North Carolina, 9 at South Carolina, 1 at Georgia, 1 at Bahama Islands.

"The whole of their salaries is £3,015 besides ten pounds worth of books to each missionary and five pounds worth of small tracts to be distributed among their parishioners."—*The Virginia Gazette*, September 3, 1736.

THE HALE LECTURES

The Hale Lectures on *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*, by Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, will be published by Charles Scribner's Sons on March 18th. The president of the Church Historical Society, Dr. Walter H. Stowe, says of them:

"This book is a unique contribution to American Church history. Nothing like it has heretofore been published. Its biographical content is especially rich. The history of thought in the American Episcopal Church is portrayed through outstanding personalities. For every student of the Episcopal Church this is a 'must' book."

A copy will be sent by the Hale Foundation to all the American bishops and to all the Anglican bishops throughout the world. The attention of our readers is called to a brilliant review of the book in this number by Bishop E. L. Parsons.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Colonial Churches of Tidewater Virginia. By George Carrington Mason. Richmond, Va. Whittet and Shepperson. 1945. Pp. 381.

Between the years 1938 and 1943 a series of articles on colonial church buildings in the Tidewater of Virginia appeared in the *William and Mary Historical Magazine*, being written by Mr. George Carrington Mason, historiographer of the diocese of Southern Virginia. They were so well done that Dr. E. G. Swem, editor of the *Quarterly*, went on record as saying that "it is evident at once that a new star has risen on the historical horizon of Virginia."

These articles, considerably revised and expanded by the author now appear in book form, excellently printed and abundantly illustrated. The volume covers churches on the Eastern Shore and the Southern counties of the Tidewater of Virginia. The other fifteen counties of the Tidewater will be treated in a book yet to be published. The present work embraces fifty parishes in twenty-one counties. About one hundred and eighty colonial churches are located or otherwise described, one hundred and sixty-six being of the established Church of England, the rest being meeting houses.

At the outbreak of the War of the Revolution there were about two hundred and fifty churches or chapels, of which only fifty now survive. The rest were "bereft of ministers, congregations, parish lands and financial support, and this condition was aggravated by the prejudice against the Episcopal Church as an English institution." Some were deliberately burned; others neglected till their roofs fell in and the bricks were looted for building purposes, leaving only the foundation trenches. Some escaping destruction in the Revolution met a like fate as they stood in the wake of the Federal armies in the War Between the States.

Prior to the publication of this book our knowledge, in the main, of the colonial church buildings was derived from Bishop William Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, published in book form in 1857. To a limited extent it is based on vestry records, but for the most part on the bishop's general knowledge of Virginia and on information gleaned from the older generation of Virginians. Now Mason supplements Meade. Trained as an architect and engineer, he brings his professional skill to a study of the architecture of the churches, to measurements as an aid to determining their original dimensions and to tracing out foundations, all of which is of the utmost value. The work is described as "one of the few studies of early American buildings prepared in a thoroughly scientific manner." Yet it is never dry reading. No source has been left unexplored. The records of the clerks of the courts in the counties have been drawn upon and librarians and archivists of the State have cooperated in his research, resulting in an amazing mass of interesting information covering every phase of

colonial Church life and of the early Virginia ministers. Mr. Mason reminds us that, contrary to the popular idea, the brick used in construction was not imported save in a few cases where it was utilized for architectural trim. His opening chapter on Jamestown is as interesting as it is informing. The brick church of 1639 was Gothic with massive buttresses and measured on the outside 56x28 feet.

No review of this book would be complete without more than passing mention of the value of the photographs taken by Mr. Mason and the very clear maps showing the location of the churches together with sketches of some interior arrangements, such as the third church of Lynnhaven parish (1733-1736), which shows that the first pew was assigned to the Magistrates; the second, across the aisle, to their wives; the fourth to "Ye Elder women of good Repute and ye Magistrate's daughters." The church had a gallery at the west end. There are also ten plates of doorways.

Enough has been said in this review to indicate the extraordinary value of this book. It is a permanent contribution to the history of a period which marked the beginnings of the Church in what is now the Commonwealth of Virginia and the United States of America.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

English Church Design, 1040 to 1540. By F. H. Crossley. B. T. Batsford, Ltd. 15 North Audley Street, W. 1. 12s. 6d. net.

This book is a treasure. Every churchman should possess it. It will appeal no less to our American friends than to ourselves, for we are all sharers in a common and delightful heritage. English speaking folk are getting more and more to realize that our ancient churches are not only to be valued for their beauty and historic interest, but as houses of God, places of living worship. The best cared for churches are those that not only tell the story of the religious and every day life of a bygone age, but also contribute to the spiritual life of today and tomorrow.

Mr. Crossley deals out some well deserved criticisms to those misguided Victorians whose soulless "restorations" have long been the despair of all lovers of the greatest art. He also gives due appreciation to much that those Victorians were unable to value—the great west front of Wells, with its sermons in stone, the transformed choir of Gloucester, and the later developments of the perpendicular period. He writes with a sure and helpful touch of the loveliness of the work of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and of the grace and dignity of the fifteenth.

Our present age may perhaps become known as a great church building period, with its need for new churches in our growing cities as well as the replacement of buildings destroyed through air raids. Mr. Crossley's book should be an inspiration to architects in their endeavour to provide buildings worthy of the worship of Almighty God and uplifting to the minds of the worshipper.

The format of this volume is excellent and the illustrations are

a joy to the eye. The frontispiece is a charming reproduction of a water color of Dundry Church, Somerset, by J. C. Buckler, much of whose work is in the possession of Magdalen College, Oxford.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

Stewards of the Mysteries of God. By R. D. Middleton. Dacre Press, Westminster. 2s. 6d.

We cannot have too many good treatises dealing with the office and work of a priest in the Church of God. In this country last year saw the publication of the Rev. W. Norman Pittenger's brochure, *Stewards of the Mysteries of Christ*, and Bishop Conkling's *Priesthood in Action*—excellent works, both of them, which deserve to be read and digested by all who are contemplating and preparing for holy orders and by all of the younger clergy, regardless of the schools of churchmanship to which they adhere.

The present booklet by the Rev. R. D. Middleton, vicar of St. Margaret's, Oxford, appeared (most of it) in the pages of *The Guardian* in 1942 and 1943, and has more recently been issued by the Dacre Press. Mr. Middleton stands in the Tractarian tradition, many of whose leaders are aptly quoted in these pages. Like Canon W. C. E. Newbolt's books, *Speculum Sacerdotum* and *Priestly Ideals*, this little book stresses the inner life of the priest—and herein lies its chief value for us American clergy, many of whom must confess that we have permitted this aspect of our priesthood to suffer amid the pressure of administrative detail and that "activism" so characteristic of American Christianity in all its forms. Mr. Middleton quotes someone as saying, "Many men who can read theology with concentration for three hours cannot spend half an hour in mental prayer, yet of the two accomplishments the second is more essential to a man of God. And, like the first, it can only be acquired by training." And our author comments, "This half-hour, or whatever the period may be, is vital to the life of the priest. It should, if possible, be given a place before the Holy Eucharist, or at least immediately after it. No letters should be opened and no conversation be permitted until this time of quiet has been spent. Here will be the incentive to early rising and early retiring which are part of the disciplined life."

Besides the chapter on "The Priest in His Inner Life," there are short chapters on "The Priest in the Study," "The Priest in the Sanctuary," "The Priest in the Pulpit," "Personal Dealings with Individuals," "The Priest and Young People," and a brief Conclusion—the whole forming an excellent commentary on the significance of the ordination vows. Like "Feed My Sheep," the symposium edited nineteen years ago by Francis Underhill, late bishop of Bath and Wells, this little work presupposes the background of the English Church and English conditions, but the author says much which we American clergy may well take to heart and adapt as best we may to the very different conditions in

which we exercise our priesthood. Here and there, of course, we shall take issue with him (as the present reviewer must do with his remarks on written sermons). But we hope we have given enough of the flavor of this little book to induce many of our clergy to possess themselves of a copy for Embertide reading and self-examination.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Parish, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Frank H. Nelson of Cincinnati. By Warren C. Herrick with a Foreword by Charles P. Taft. Louisville. The Cloister Press. 1945. Pp. 110.

This comparatively brief biography outlines the large story of the ministry of forty years of Frank H. Nelson as rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati, which, under his direction, became a force for righteousness. Educated at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, he graduated from Hobart College, *Magna Cum Laude*, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and from the General Theological Seminary, where he became president of his class. For five years he served on the staff of St. George's Church, New York City, under Dr. William S. Rainsford, of whom it was said that "he has seen the Christ, and has shown Him to men." These were the formative years of Nelson's life and Rainsford's influence followed him through all the years of his ministry. In 1898 Rainsford was instrumental in sending his assistant, the Rev. Alexis Stein, to be rector of Christ Church, and a little later Frank Nelson as his colleague. Rainsford described Stein as "the ablest preacher of his age in our Church," and Nelson as "a strong, capable man, full of energy and charm and a first class organizer." Nelson said of Stein, "He loved God and showed Him to men; he loved men and led them to God." Christ Church was a downtown parish, the mother church of the city, but men said it had seen its best days. Unfortunately, Stein was stricken with tuberculosis, and Frank Nelson succeeded him as rector.

The story of the forty years of his life and work is told in this volume by one who was a former assistant. It is told with impelling charm; admirably proportioned. Mr. Herrick is sympathetic, but discriminating. He has given us a biography which comes pretty close to being perfect. It etches the portrait of a man whose ministry was many-sided. Frank Nelson made Christ Church "a place where the rich and the poor met on equal terms." He was a Broad Churchman; a pastor to whom nothing human was foreign; a leader in social reform who came to be regarded as an outstanding citizen. It is on record that a taxicab driver said: "Frank Nelson was sure a real man. If you had a million dollars you got a fifteen minute funeral service; if you had twenty-five cents you got a fifteen minute service." The keynote of his ministry is found in two of his own sayings: "The Church is the Body of Christ, not a club, to minister, and not to be ministered to. The people all about us, the whole city, are our concern, to bring them the Gospel of Christ." The other saying sheds light upon his churchmanship: "The Creed ought to be on the altar, not at the door of the Church."

For forty years he labored in season and out of season. Then came the end. Mr. Herrick aptly quotes the verse from Matthew Arnold's poem, *Rugby Chapel*:

"Therefore, to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself;
And, at the end of the day,
O faithful shepherd! to come,
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand."

In the judgment of this reviewer this little volume should be read and pondered by every young minister of this Church.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The Man Who Wanted to Know. By James W. Kennedy. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 1944. Pp. 160.

Every parish has men and women who want to know something definite about religion. They are troubled about their vagueness concerning what they regard as a vital need. Services and sermons are good as far as they go, but the outstanding need is a school of religion. Mr. Kennedy's book is an excellent manual for such a school. It centers round a series of lectures and discussions on such subjects, "The Bible as an Instrument of Use in Living Our Utmost," "Towards an Effective Prayer Life," "Basic Beliefs Every Christian Must Hold," "The Person of Christ," "The Practice of the Presence of the Christ-God's Spirit," "The Strategy of Jesus." In a very happy fashion the book sets forth the experience of a Mr. Jones, who attended such a school of religion. It has a very human touch. It reads almost like a novel, but behind it is a good deal of hard study and will prove an admirable guide to parish instructors in such schools. Nine books are suggested for reading. The second lecture contains sixty-two Biblical references. The world stands in great need of a teaching ministry always provided that the people are given an opportunity to discuss the topics. For such a ministry Mr. Kennedy's book abounds in helpful suggestions based upon his own experience. It is abundantly worth while.

L. F. BALLARD.

Where Art Thou? By C. Avery Mason. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 1945. Pp. 152.

Bishop Mason writes a brief but impassioned plea for Christians to "color, change and channel the ponderous stream of life for centuries to come." This challenge is more vital today than ever. There is an excellent chapter on Christian Nurture; another on The Social Implications of Christian Worship. The author protests against the widespread notion that "the Christian life is an individual matter," declaring

that the gospel "knows nothing of Christianity apart from the Christian community." The book is hard-hitting; a challenge to answer God's call to spread the Christian community, the one answer to secular individualism and all its attendant evils. Bishop Mason closes with the statement that Christians "are called upon to build a new world for Christ," and that building will be done "by those whose foreheads are branded by the sign of the Cross in Baptism and by those who have been quickened by the Holy Spirit."

L. F. BALLARD.

His Body the Church. The Bohlen Lectures for 1945. By W. Norman Pittenger. Morehouse-Gorham Co., New York.

An unusually interesting and scholarly work on the nature of the Christian Church by one of the younger theologians of the Episcopal Church, and written, confessedly, from an Anglo-Catholic point of view. The author, a fellow and tutor at the General Theological Seminary in New York, and lecturer in the department of religion at Columbia University, finds in the thought of the times, and especially in the movements toward ecumenicity and the liturgical revival, concern for the preservation of the Church's historic tradition, theology and worship. His purpose in writing is to further the great cause of Christian unity, not by minimizing differences and convictions, but by stating without "*odium theologicum*" the essential catholic position in the interest of clarity and comprehension. Such a study is also important at this time because some older conceptions seem to have lost their power of appeal, due to the findings of biblical and historical criticism. With modesty he disclaims any new and novel approach; desiring only to try and put the old truth of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church in a new way.

His argument for the Church as a divine creation is based chiefly on the witness of the New Testament and the testimony of early Christianity in general. St. Paul's analogy about the old and new covenants is used to show how the Church antedated the Incarnation. He makes no plea for the dominical institution of the Church, which certainly is a modern and not a traditional approach. Primitive Christians saw in Christ and His work an act of God on the plane of history, and the "residual significance" of that fact was the fact of the Church, and since it was the Church is "as much part of the Gospel as is the Lord Himself." If the Gospel is the good news of God's mighty act of redemption, and if the Church is not only the carrier of that message, but the result of that act, then the benefits of salvation are now to be found solely within the Church. Indeed, "in a true and important sense the Church is very redemption itself." It is apparent he regards the office and function of Christ and the Church as virtually identical. He says: "The supreme and crucial act of God for men is not Christ alone, nor is it Christ and His Church." It is both. And again: "The New Testament makes it clear that the way in which one became a Christian believer in primitive times, and hence a participant in the Christian life,

was by becoming a member of the Christian society." In other words: there was created from the disciples and followers of Jesus a living, visible community to be the carrier of the message and the institutional medium of salvation.

The most perfect expression of the nature of the Church is found in St. Paul's phrase, "His body the Church." As a metaphor it has its limitations, but it is no mere figure of speech. To the Apostle it adequately describes the true character of the Christian community. Among other things it indicates that it is "a living and visible organism, an instrumental agent, a vehicle of expression, a means of persisting identity and outward-moving action, a way in which some spiritual reality manages to make itself known." In this manner Christ uses the Church, not alone to accomplish man's redemption, but also to shape its dogmatic affirmations, its worship, and to give skeletal form to its ministry. Perhaps it will be easy to see how old-time Evangelicals, with their proclamation that the way of salvation is through repentance toward God and faith in our Lord, will demur at this, and express their surprise that anyone should venture to build such an elaborate superstructure on so frail a foundation as a metaphor, even one selected by an Apostle.

On the other hand, because the Church is a body, growth and development are possible. But it must be growth which does not go back upon its own past. No fundamental element of traditional Christianity can be discarded—only the fuller development of that which now and always has existed.

When the writer discusses the so-called "notes" of the Church, which occupy four well-written chapters, there appears a strongly conservative trend, blended somewhat intriguingly with a disposition to accept the findings of modern biblical scholarship, if they do not contravene or imperil traditional conceptions; where they do, they are either ignored, explained away or forthwith rejected. The tone of the discussion, where opposing views are encountered, i. e., those who believe in an invisible church or have surrendered some part of the historic faith, is kindly and considerate, but firm and uncompromising. As the basis of unity among the Churches the author would add to the terms of the Lambeth Quadrilateral the sacrament of absolution and penance as the means of maintaining holiness among Christians. All those who refuse to acknowledge or accept these vital elements of the faith, though in the main stream of historic Christianity, both impede and imperil the unity of the Church by their attitude of intransigence. The authority of the Church is a moral authority—*auctoritas* not *imperium*. The "locus" of authority is in the episcopate, but only as the mouthpiece of the total Christian consciousness. Apostolic Succession, when properly understood, is of the very essence of the Church life. Ignatius' dictum is approved: "Where the bishop is there is the Catholic Church," all other things being equal. In the Papacy there is neither true nor false development, only mistaken and unwieldily over-development. Any discussion of reunion which fails to embrace Rome is self-condemned.

On the whole the catholic position is expressed with force, freshness and sincerity. Whether it is convincing will depend on the reader's predilections. In any case the author is a protagonist of skill, learning

and logical dexterity. Doubtless his arguments are as strong as it is possible to assemble for the position he supports. But, as generally understood, this is not Anglicanism. It is Anglo-Catholicism, and in the main can scarcely be distinguished from the Roman doctrine of the Church.

HERBERT HAIGH BROWN.

THE REV. H. R. T. BRANDRETH ON CHURCH UNITY

Unity and Reunion: A Bibliography. By Henry R. T. Brandreth. Adam and Charles Black. London. 1945. xxxii+159 pp. 12s 6d.

Mr. Brandreth has given the student of the problems of Church unity an invaluable and indispensable work of reference. The book is a comprehensive survey of the literature on the visible unity and reunion of Christendom published since the beginning of the last century. Nearly twelve hundred books, pamphlets and periodicals are listed, conveniently classified under such headings as Reports and Documents of Official Conferences, Catholic Reunion (and here writings on each side are grouped Roman-Orthodox, Orthodox-Old Catholic, Anglican-Roman, Anglican-Orthodox, Anglican-Old Catholic), Protestant Reunion (again grouped Protestant-Anglican, Inter-Protestant), General Works and Histories, Special Periods, etc. The system of classification is excellent. In few bibliographies can the reader so readily find the books on the particular aspect of the subject he desires to pursue. The careful indexes of authors and subjects supplement this useful classification.

A brief introduction summarizes the chief reunion movement of the last century. Mr. Brandreth has annotated those items in the bibliography where the nature and scope of the works are not clear from the titles alone. Both the introduction and these brief notes on the contents of books are written from an impartial point of view. Mr. Brandreth deserves the gratitude of all who are coming today to the cause of Christian unity with a new seriousness and sense of urgency. His interest in the subject and his painstaking care have given us a book without recourse to which no one can embark upon an intelligent study of the reunion of Christendom.

P. M. DAWLEY.

*Professor of Church History,
General Theological Seminary.*

An American Plan for Unity: A Study of the Anglican-Presbyterian Negotiations in America. By Henry R. T. Brandreth. Pax House, London. (Published for the Council for the Defense of Church Principles.) 20 pp.

This slight publication is a tract, summarizing for English readers the negotiations which have been conducted since 1937 between the

Protestant Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. Mr. Brandreth devotes himself chiefly to a critical examination of the document, *Basic Principles*, which was appended to the majority report of the Commission on Approaches to Unity received at the last General Convention. Little is said in criticism of *Basic Principles* not already familiar to us in this country, though his points of comparison with the South India Scheme are enlightening. The most interesting sections of the tract are those in which the author discusses the historical doctrines of the episcopate (which Mr. Brandreth regards as surrendered in *Basic Principles*), and the confusion as to the meaning and intention of the Lambeth Quadrilateral. It might perhaps be worth pointing out in this last connection that those who presume to say what the framers of the Lambeth Quadrilateral meant would do well to consult a collection of papers reprinted from the *Church Review* for April and October, 1890, entitled, *Church Reunion Discussed on the Basis of the Lambeth Propositions of 1888*.

P. M. DAWLEY.

Preaching in the First Half Century of New England History. By Babette May Levy. American Society of Church History, Hartford, Connecticut. 1945. Pp. vii+215. \$3.00.

This is a most rewarding study. The author has sharply defined the field of inquiry and has clearly divided the area selected into fitting subdivisions for closer scrutiny. However, the clarity of her study of the sharply defined field embodies a rich fullness of understanding. As she focuses attention on the life and function of the preacher in early New England, she is constantly aware of the larger field of history to which this period is related, and of the manifold life in which the preachers of this period moved and worked. Thus the study of New England brings information and interpretation of old England, and the acquaintance with the preacher gives one new understanding of the social life, the political framework, and the general intellectual climate in which the preacher moved.

The setting and awareness of the larger and varied context in which early New England preaching developed, does not, however, in this study blunt the edge of the specific inquiry into the preaching itself. The study takes us to the preacher's desk, into his pulpit and into the whole area of ecclesiastical interests and of theological concern. It shows us the impact of the sermon on the total emerging social and political life of the community, as well as its power as an utterance within the church.

The scope of the inquiry is clearly indicated in the chapter titles:

- I. The Background and Preparation of the Preachers.
- II. The Doctrine as It Was Preached.
- III. Success: The Puritan Road to Damnation.
- IV. Practical Teaching: Politics and War.
- V. The Form of the Sermon.

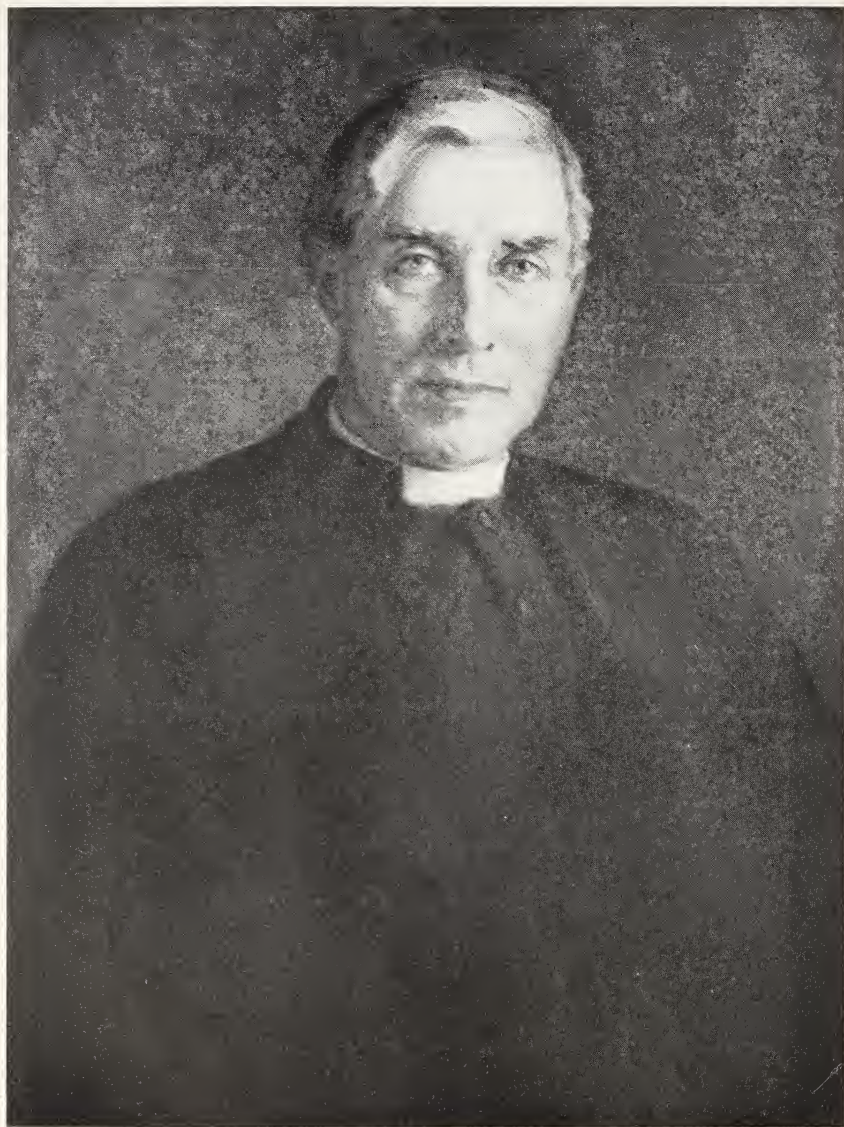
- VI. Sermonic Similitudes: A Sidelight Upon the Puritan Mind.
- VII. The Plain Style and Its Variations.
- VIII. The Reception of the Sermon.

The study also carries an extensive bibliography.

The book can be commended for its general historic value and as a valuable study for the student of homiletics in the American scene.

M. STEPHEN JAMES.

*Professor of Homiletics,
New Brunswick Theological Seminary.*



From the portrait by Mary Arnold Nash, 1938. (Copyright, 1945)

THE RIGHT REVEREND

HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER, D.D., S.T.D., LL.D.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, M. A., 1895; VIRGINIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, 1899. DEACON: JUNE 23, 1899; PRIEST: JULY 30, 1899
MISSIONARY, SENDAI, HIROSAKI, JAPAN, AND PRESIDENT, ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE, TOKYO, 1903-1912. SECOND MISSIONARY BISHOP OF KYOTO, 1912-1923.
PROFESSOR, VIRGINIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, 1923-1926.
BISHOP COADJUTOR OF VIRGINIA, 1926-1927.
EIGHTH BISHOP OF VIRGINIA, 1927-1944
PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE CHURCH, 1938-1946

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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PROFILE OF A PRESIDING BISHOP

*By Charles W. Sheerin**

It is a human tendency to be dissatisfied with a national administration especially during "hard times." The Church unquestionably had hard times during the thirties, and the Cincinnati meeting of the General Convention in 1937 was the focal point. Many were demanding a new type of administration. Some felt that the form of this demand indicated the fascist tendency of giving up democracy for dictatorship; for certainly the office of presiding bishop was given powers it had never had before. The canonical provision of a six year term was abolished, and it was proposed that whoever might be elected should serve until the meeting of the General Convention after his seventieth birthday. A few who were worried over this trend put through an amendment which changed this provision to "after the age of sixty-eight."

The name of Dr. Henry St. George Tucker, bishop of Virginia, had not been included in the list of nominees for the office of presiding bishop sent down for the information of the House of Deputies, and the surprise of the deputies, waiting in executive session to confirm the choice of the House of Bishops, was almost a shock when it was announced that Bishop Tucker had been chosen. Suddenly a demonstration such as none in that house had ever witnessed took place. Certainly all felt at that time that just the right man had been elected. More than a year later this was best explained by an efficiency engineer, who was making a survey of the National Council, when he said:

*Dr. Sheerin is rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C. He was vice-president of the National Council of the Church from July 1, 1938, to February 1, 1942.—*Editor's Note.*

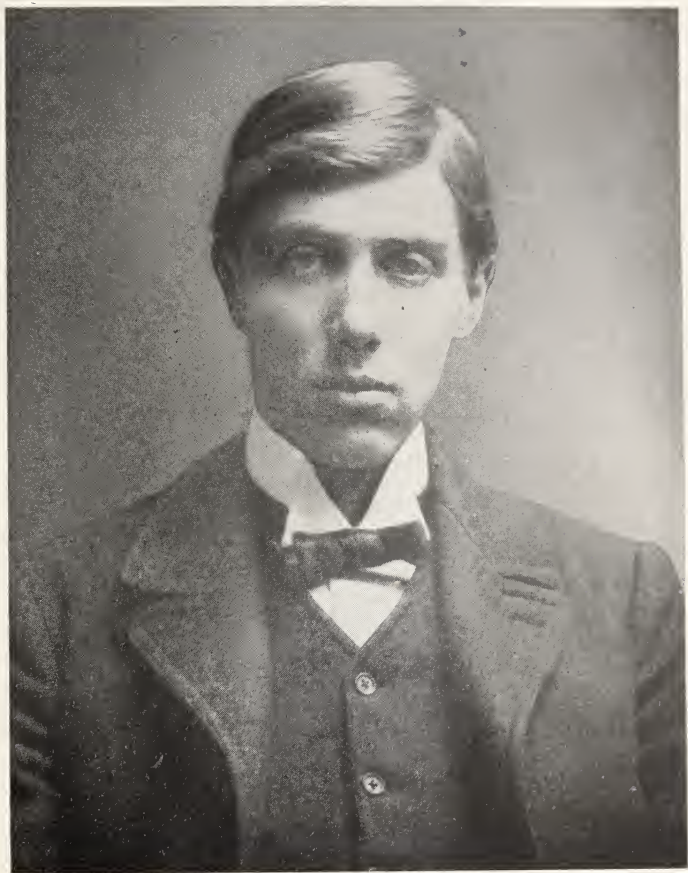
"The Convention evidently gave unprecedented power and control to the presiding bishop and then turned around and elected and confirmed that man least likely to exercise such power with any arrogance. Unquestionably they were looking for the most spiritual, sweet, and Christian character they could find."

In the lobby of the Gibson Hotel that night I saw Bishop Tucker looking somewhat troubled. He told me he wondered whether he could afford to be presiding bishop on his salary as bishop of Virginia. I could not help but wonder whether any other member of the House of Bishops would not have known that there was a special stipend provided for the presiding bishop!

The Cincinnati convention had provided for two vice-presidents of the National Council to aid the presiding bishop in administrative matters. The first vice-president was to be a technical expert in the management of affairs connected with the mission field. Few in the Church realize the vast amount of detail in connection with our foreign enterprise, beginning with the qualifications of those to be sent abroad, and involving such items as travel, supplies, strategy in carrying out long term policies, inter-church arrangements, and administrative relationships with our mother Church of England. Bishop Tucker, as an outstanding former missionary, felt himself qualified to carry out this work until, after careful review, just the right man could be found for this important post. Dr. John Wood had for years been the secretary of the foreign missions department, and probably carried in his head as vast an amount of knowledge about the missionary field abroad as anyone in the world. Only Bishop Tucker could at that time possibly have matched him in knowledge of the over-all picture.

Hay has said in his biography of Abraham Lincoln that he doubts whether any great man can possibly be over-humble; that Lincoln gave that impression, but actually he had great confidence in his own ability; and that was why he was great. Since so much has always been made of Bishop Tucker's humility, I must say that some of us who have worked closely with him feel much the way Hay felt about Lincoln. If modesty, gentleness, and a constant Christian courtesy are the qualities of humility, Bishop Tucker is a humble man. But if being humble means being over-innocent about what goes on in the world, if it means having no deep convictions and displaying a lack of firm policy, Bishop Tucker is far from being a humble man. Those who have worked closely with him know he has qualities of greatness.

While at times some of us were restless because Bishop Tucker



H. S. George Suckel

AT THE TIME OF HIS GRADUATION FROM THE
VIRGINIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
IN THE CLASS OF 1899

was not always excited about some immediate problem, and even seemed over-casual about conferences or promotional schemes that were the darlings of our hearts, always we realized that he was truly a religious statesman. Even in time of war he knew that the immediate was only important in so far as it affected the future. What happens two hundred years from now in China is much more important than whether this fall's every member canvass is a complete success. Our smaller subordinate minds did not always agree, but looking back I can say it was good for us to be with one who was much nearer the eternal than the ephemeral.

Like all faults, Bishop Tucker's weaknesses are mixed with his strength. He is a kindly man and does not like to offend, and if things did not seem over-important, he would let most of us have our heads. One day a number of us got together and promised to play fair and stop a pleasant practice we had of saying, "Bishop Tucker tells me he hopes I will do it this way." Actually, Bishop Tucker never let us get away with that on any important matter, but we managed to get a number of minor privileges which at times irritated our colleagues.

The office of second vice-president established at Cincinnati was to have charge of "promotion." That is an intangible word, and just why Bishop Tucker wanted me I have never known. I received a typical, kindly letter from him, telling me frankly that if I took the position I should probably have to make a sacrifice in income, but that he thought there was a job to be done for the Church and that I could do it. The privilege of being with Bishop Tucker I found the most inviting thing about this new position, for certainly in the hurried days of the convention in Cincinnati nobody had thought the job through.

On Bishop Tucker's suggestion, I wrote hundreds of letters to the clergy and laity throughout the Church, asking what they expected the National Council to do, and how it was expected to serve. After compiling the answers, I brought them to Bishop Tucker for his judgment. He agreed at once that a survey was needed, and on the advice of some important people in the publishing and advertising business, Mr. Luther Bell was engaged.

Mr. Bell's recommendations, which were adopted by the National Council, briefly summed up, were: That everything from the way a girl answers the telephone to the way any representative sent out from the Church Missions House conducts himself, was "promotional"; that since the Church had seemed to demand as presiding bishop a personality equipped with strong legal power, that personality should

permeate the work, and the work should be, as far as faith and religious practice allowed, an extension of that personality; that several of the departments should be combined and given new names, better to designate the character of the work; that all publications should be prepared under the direction of those especially interested in particular phases of the work, but actually they should be laid out and printed under the direction of a trained publicity man; that my particular job should be interpretative, and that I should serve as representative of the presiding bishop.

This was no easy order for a modest, unassuming, quiet, scholarly man, who generally shrank from publicity; but Bishop Tucker, when once something was proved to him, was not a man to let his personal feelings interfere with the work he was called upon to do. If anyone ever received cooperation from anyone, I received it from him.

Big business is kinder to its leaders than is the Church. The young man in business may have to travel many miles, but the "chairman of the board" lives in comparative domestic quiet. Our new program meant that Bishop Tucker himself had to travel many miles to show his interest in the Church. The Pacific coast one week, New England the next, was the typical schedule. While I have heard Mrs. Tucker complain, I never heard Bishop Tucker do so, though the greater part of the traveling was distasteful to him. The result was, however, that bishops, other clergy, and laymen came to know him and his quiet but strong personality. Men instinctively trust him. They seem to sense that disinterested but consecrated attitude that is the real Henry St. George Tucker. And intuitively, yet without guile, he seemed to sense their wants and needs.

The new canons adopted at Cincinnati actually were ideal for effecting the needed and proposed changes in administration, but the procedure was difficult, for personalities were involved. Some men had to be demoted; some had to be dismissed; and it took a spiritual giant to accomplish such things with a minimum of hurt feelings. I think it only proper to pay tribute to the fine character of the various officers of the National Council who backed Bishop Tucker in these changes, even though they did not always agree. Some day, somebody is going to give an account of Lewis B. Franklin, National Council treasurer, and his stewardship, and of the Rev. Franklin J. Clark, the practically perfect secretary. If there had been detrimental criticism of these men, there could never be any criticism of their spirit. Part of the reform of Bishop Tucker's administration was to protect them from having to deal with matters that had been forced upon them because of the lack of a clear policy ordered by General Convention.

Smaller men would have resented changes. These men gave a consecrated cooperation.

For a publicity man, we managed to persuade Joseph E. Boyle, a layman of Chicago, to come east and become director of promotion. A native of Kansas, trained with *The Emporia Gazette*, and a mid-western representative of the Associated Press, I wondered whether he and Bishop Tucker, with his Virginian background, would understand one another; but it was a partnership that "clicked" at once. Bishop Tucker may sound provincial, but he is not provincial, and he seemed to understand this new world Boyle introduced us to—of newspapers, layouts, moving pictures, mats, and the handling of reporters. Always with a sense of quiet humor, but realizing that the Church, whether it liked it or not, was in competition with the world, Bishop Tucker played the game.

Like many other active men, Bishop Tucker does not like to write. Boyle and I found a device that sometimes produced "advanced copy" for a speech. I would write out a talk, he would call me and usually say, "Charlie, this is fine, but it isn't exactly what I would say myself, so I will write one out tonight." And he always did. Since I don't like to write any better than Bishop Tucker, I was glad when we found a better way of needling his stenographer until we got the copy.

The spring before the General Convention of 1940 Bishop Tucker learned that Dr. James Thayer Addison of the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge was eligible for consideration as the first vice-president. Those of us on the staff were delighted. Addison is a student of missionary history and policy. His book, *Our Expanding Church*, had been the most popular presentation of missions in years, but beyond this book he was a deep student. His appointment would mean a renovation of many older ways of missionary administration, again with a "die-hard" faction; but once Bishop Tucker found the man who was fitted and needed for the post, there was no hesitation on his part.

Actually I would say that the newer missionary policies that have been adopted are a greater change than the promotional work, but by reason of Dr. Addison's personality and Bishop Tucker's strong but gentle manner, few in the Church have realized the fact. Beginning with the selection and appointment of missionaries, through the many details of material arrangements, great advancement in more efficient work has been made; and yet all of this has been accomplished during World War II, when the Japanese and Chinese situations were anything but easy to handle, and when closer cooperation with the Church

of England had to be arranged under the handicap of great difficulty of communication.

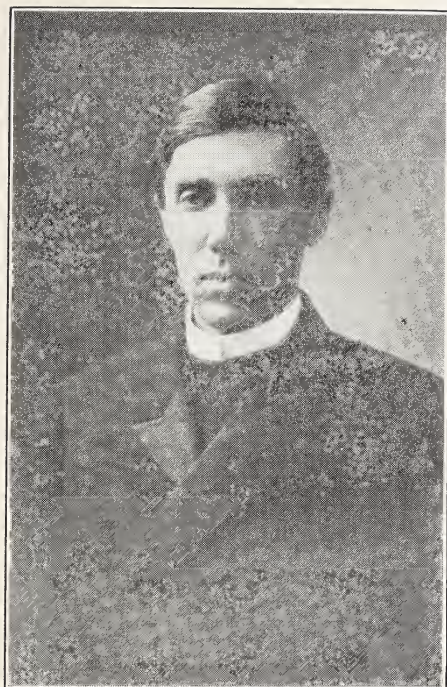
It is hard to go back and remember what we thought previous to Pearl Harbor, but certainly in 1940 most of us still hoped that war could be avoided. I doubt if Bishop Tucker ever did think so. The super-optimist, who thought "we could lick Japan with one hand tied behind our back," amused our presiding bishop. He surprised many of us, as he often did, with his tremendous grasp of matters that were not familiar to most people. He had followed the Japanese army in China; knew that it was not the best Japanese army, and was quite aware that Japan had ships and bases. Bishop Tucker is not a militarist, and never was a pacifist; but he is a realist.

The meeting of General Convention in Denver in 1931 had provided in those pre-Hitler days for a registration of conscientious objectors. Although the year 1940 was not an easy time to inaugurate such a register, Bishop Tucker was willing to stand the inevitable criticism, and it was established. Again, the confidence that all types of people had in him was proved by the fact that no school of thought in the Church questioned his motives.

For some years Bishop Tucker had realized that the time had come for the Church to undertake some really great advance. Some of us connected with the promotional work hoped that it would be something of a duplicate of the nation-wide campaign of 1919, but he opposed that. Our problems, he reminded us, were not essentially money problems. The Church must revive her faith, if the ten years between 1940 and 1950 were to be constructive. Certainly, with the rise of pagan ideology, the Church had seemed weak. The presiding bishop was to give the keynote at the General Convention of 1940.

Those who were in the huge auditorium at Kansas City when Bishop Tucker proposed "Forward-in-Service," can never forget the enthusiasm. In all fairness I don't believe any one can call Bishop Tucker a great orator, but that day we felt the inspiration that must have been given him by God, for never in my lifetime have I seen people so moved. In simple words, and with frequent bits of humor, he told of the hopes for the next decade. His program was adopted unanimously and re-committed to him for action.

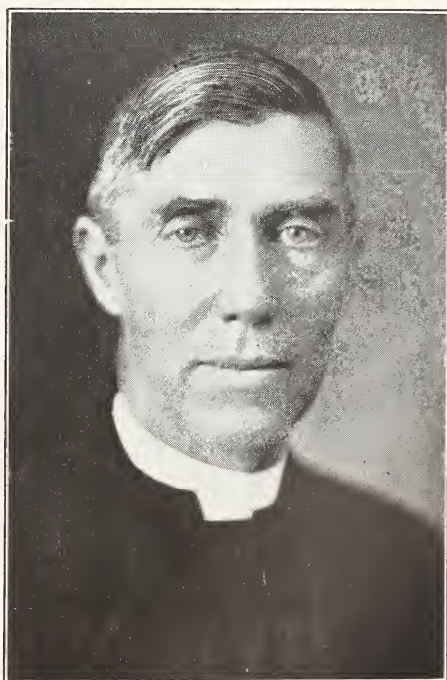
Perhaps some present-day observers call "Forward-in-Service" Bishop Tucker's greatest failure as presiding bishop. That is an unfair judgment, I believe. To be sure, "Forward-in-Service" has ceased in many ways, but I also feel that its impact has had many excellent results. In judging it we must remember that essentially its program was simple. It was the "promotion of the obvious," as one rector



DR. H. ST. GEORGE TUCKER

At the time of his consecration,
March 25, 1912, the 258th in the
American Succession, as

**SECOND MISSIONARY BISHOP
OF KYOTO (JAPAN)**



DR. TUCKER

At the time of his succession,
July 25, 1927, as the

EIGHTH BISHOP OF VIRGINIA

designated it. Too many little minds in the Church are not ready to accept a simple program, and especially when it calls for repentance. But by far the biggest handicap was the fact that already America had become the "arsenal of democracy"; the draft had set in, and every day we came nearer and nearer to war. Rectors could hardly be expected to carry out programs of renewal, whether spiritual or material, when their youth were leaving every day for military service—no one knew just where. Bishops could hardly be expected to give their full time to an essential Church program when, over-night, huge cantonments and war plants were springing up in their dioceses, bringing all sorts of Church problems caused by moving millions of persons.

In spite of this handicap, roll calls were made in parishes, and many a parish knew better than before what it had in personnel. Many adopted new programs for changing needs. New emphasis on social service was felt in many places. It takes a long time to establish a national program, and, considering the times, I truly believe that at least a small highway was built through the deserts of our spiritual life, which, in time, will bring results far greater than are now anticipated.

While Bishop Tucker gave the inspiration to the many activities of his administration as presiding bishop, he has consistently refused to depend upon the authority given him by the General Convention of 1937, and has thus continued through a dangerous period the democratic and constitutional government that is the rich heritage of our Church. In the National Council he appointed as his "cabinet" the officers of the National Council—the two vice-presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer. He did not have to call cabinet meetings, but he did. Democracy is based upon the idea that nobody, no matter how great and wise, can make all the wise decisions for all men. Bishop Tucker was and is a democrat.

In any momentous decision, no matter how much he might or might not want something, he waited until the National Council met. Many of his ideas were rejected by the council, many were accepted, and in many he was not legally bound to ask the council's advice; but he always did. As his kinsman, George Washington, set a modest precedent for future presidents of the United States, so our presiding bishop, the first with great legal power, has set a precedent for his successors.

To those who know Bishop Tucker well, his private life reveals the man we know in public. He leads a life of devotion. No group or organization, no matter how small, asks for his presence that he does not try to accept, often at great personal inconvenience to him-

self. In private he is as modest and unassuming as in public. A little incident may be revealing:

One day I happened to be in his office for conference when the telephone rang. I heard him greet the person cordially, and then say, "No, I am sorry, but I have to preach the commencement sermon at Sewanee that Sunday." . . . "Yes, I will think it over twenty-four hours, but I know I can't do it."

He turned to me and said, "My, but he's an informal man."

"Who?" I inquired.

"President Roosevelt. He wants me to preach at Hyde Park when the king and queen of England come in June, but I promised Alex Guerry I'd be at Sewanee."

I hurried into the next room and called Alex, who, of course, appreciated the situation, and then I telephoned the White House that Bishop Tucker's acceptance would be forthcoming. Few men would have hesitated in the first place, but Bishop Tucker had given his word to somebody, and he intended to keep it.

Born and brought up in the great evangelical traditions of the best Virginia churchmanship, he never wavered from his position, but no one was ever fairer in his attitude toward, and his treatment of, others. The only time I ever detected a harsh note in his conversation with me was once when I suggested that a proposed officer of the National Council was a pretty advanced Anglo-Catholic. He let me know pretty quickly that if the man's qualifications were right and if he was a devout man, his churchmanship did not enter into the selection. When extreme Anglo-Catholics were to be consecrated bishops he offered to let one of the same type celebrate the Holy Communion, while he remained the consecrator. Yet he never compromised his own position. I have never known him to ask a favor for a privileged person, but many times he has asked me, when traveling around the Church, to see if I could place some lonely and discouraged man who needed a change.

While one never thinks of Bishop Tucker as noisy or even as having much worldly interest, he enjoys healthily the pleasant things of life. His many brothers and sisters laughingly say that you may never notice it, but St. George eats more than the rest of the family. I found him a most pleasant theatre companion, and one night when a young woman, who is on the stage and also a devout member of the Church, took us to Sardi's famous restaurant and introduced her friends, they gathered around the table while he told them the history of the Japanese stage.



THE PRESIDING BISHOP
STANDING BESIDE HIS PORTRAIT AT THE TIME
OF ITS ACQUISITION BY THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA
1945

Those who think Bishop Tucker does not know character are sadly mistaken. He told me once that he could tell, when he was president of St. Paul's University, Tokyo, what a Japanese student wanted by the way his footsteps sounded coming up the stairs. I have a feeling that his knowledge of character is not confined to the Japanese. Many a man who, I believed, had put over a pretty good bluff, I found out afterward had not fooled Bishop Tucker a bit. He is too kindly to call bluffs. Only once did I see him really angry, and that was when he thought a group of self-righteous persons were persecuting an erring ecclesiastic for revenge.

The climax of Bishop Tucker's administration, fittingly enough, has come in the Reconstruction and Advance Fund, which has now reached a total of some seven million dollars. He began his ministry as a missionary to Japan, and he had hoped and expected to end it there. When the health of his family necessitated his retirement from that field, he was deeply disappointed. But we can see now that his disappointment was overruled for the good of the whole Church, and especially for its missionary program. For the success of this fund is a testimonial to the fact that the whole Church shares in some measure Bishop Tucker's grasp of the missionary imperative, and to that extent, at least, is evidence of the quality of his leadership during these past nine years.

Nobody on the contemporary scene can finally evaluate history, and it will take a future generation properly to appraise Bishop Tucker's work and career. There are those who feel that with his scholarly ability and prestige of character, he could have given a stronger leadership than he has. There are others who feel that in a pretty terrible world he held ideals and spiritual values high, and demonstrated them among men who knew little of Christian character. One thing to me is certain: In a changing age, when the Church decided it must change its national administration, he seemed to preserve the best of the past, and yet was not afraid to adventure with the new.

THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1901

*By Louis C. Sanford**

In several respects the General Convention of 1901 held in San Francisco, marked a turning point in the life of the Episcopal Church. Bishop Hall of Vermont said, apologetically, during its session, that the value of a convention should be estimated as much by what it refused to do as by what it did. Nevertheless, the constructive achievements of the San Francisco meeting are not inconsiderable.

The selection of a convention city on the western edge of the continent in the opening year of the century was an innovation as striking as any change in policy or method adopted by the Episcopal Church. Previous to 1900 the General Convention had held thirty-nine sessions. Philadelphia had been the host on sixteen occasions, New York had been favored twelve times, and Baltimore had been honored thrice. Eight other cities had claimed one session each, and Wilmington, Delaware, had enjoyed the presence of an adjournment convention for two days in 1786. All but three of the thirty-nine meeting places were on the Atlantic coast—it might almost be said, within sound of the Atlantic surf. The three exceptions were Cincinnati in 1850, Chicago in 1886, and Minneapolis in 1895.

THE SETTING

The invitation to meet in San Francisco had not been accepted without opposition. "Who's going to pay my fare way out to California?" peevishly exclaimed an eastern bishop. "The same man," piped up Bishop Morris of Oregon, "that's been paying mine to New York all these years." Deputies grumbled: "Nobody will go." But go they did in numbers beyond all expectation, bishops and deputies, members of the Woman's Auxiliary, and visitors who took advantage of the low railroad rates to witness an impressive ecclesiastical assembly, visit distant friends, and become acquainted with a part of their country of which they had heard much but knew little. Three-fourths of

*Missionary bishop of San Joaquin, California, 1911-1943. Dr. Sanford was rector of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, San Francisco, during the General Convention of 1901.—*Editor's Note.*

the travelers lived east of the Mississippi, a river they had never seen, and the trip had all the spice of a new adventure. As they sped westward, and the panorama of prairie and mountain unrolled before their eyes, a new understanding of the scope and diversity of the Church's domestic opportunity took possession of many minds; and when they stood on the shore of the Pacific, looking out upon its misty horizon, it required but little imagination to hear from the Orient the Macedonian cry.

The impact upon the city by the Golden Gate was noticeable. Never before had so many silk hats, black coats, and collars buttoned behind been seen on its streets. Never had the hack drivers been so frantically busy. For three weeks religious gatherings and social affairs piqued the curiosity of the public. The religious demonstrations were climaxed by a missionary mass meeting. It was before the day of auditoriums and accommodations for large assemblies were seldom found among the conveniences of any city. There was in San Francisco a huge wooden structure known as "The Mechanics' Pavilion." This edifice was the fifth building to bear the name, each of its predecessors having been torn down to permit the erection of a larger arena. The first pavilion, designed in 1857 by "The Mechanics' Institute," a pioneer civic organization, to house an annual industrial exhibit, "The Mechanics' Institute Fair," was succeeded by establishments which fulfilled all the requirements associated now with a municipal auditorium. In the Mechanics' Pavilion, on October 8th, a congregation conservatively estimated to number eight thousand, listened to missionary addresses and, led by the massed choirs from churches within a radius of fifty miles, sang missionary hymns. It was the most impressive religious service ever witnessed in San Francisco up to that time, and probably was as conspicuous as any similar demonstration previously held anywhere in the country.

Viewed from every angle, the choice of a location, the large attendance, the interest awakened, its forward looking spirit, and, it may be added, its practical achievements, the first General Convention of the twentieth century was one of major import in the history of the Episcopal Church.

SOME LEADING PERSONALITIES

The official membership in 1901 included many whom our older churchmen will remember. Bishop William Croswell Doane of Albany, author of the hymn, "Ancient of Days," and Bishop Henry Codman Potter of New York, whose boldly planned cathedral was still mostly underground, took an active part in the proceedings of the House of

Bishops. So did the venerable Dr. Daniel S. Tuttle, bishop of Missouri; Dr. O. W. Whitaker, bishop of Pennsylvania, and Dr. William Hobart Hare, apostle to the Indians of South Dakota, the oldest living pioneers of the domestic mission field. Among the younger men, Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts was soon to inspire the Church Pension Fund, and Bishop Rowe of Alaska was just beginning his career. For many years the Church of England has been sending its fraternal greetings to the General Convention by an honored guest. At San Francisco the bishop of Newcastle, Dr. Edgar Jacob, was a welcome visitor.

In the House of Deputies, Dr. W. R. Huntington, rector of Grace Church, New York, *facile princeps* among debaters, is perhaps best remembered for his work in Prayer Book revision. Other prominent clergymen were Dr. John Fulton of Philadelphia, authority on canon law, and Dean George Hodges of the Cambridge Theological Seminary, author and preacher. Twenty-two of the clerical deputies were to be called to the episcopate within twenty years, and one of them, John Gardner Murray, then of Alabama, was to be the first elected presiding bishop. Among the laity were such familiar names as Linden H. Morehouse, J. P. Morgan, Robert Treat Paine, Samuel Mather, and George C. Thomas, men as well known for their devotion to the interests of religion as for their diligence in business.

Our glance at the personnel of this convention must not overlook the secretary of the House of Bishops, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart. Who, that has seen him in action, will ever forget his impressive entrances into the House of Deputies! They were events in the parliamentary routine. Pausing at the door, arrayed in cap and gown, until the chair recognized him and announced: "A message from the House of Bishops," he paced slowly down the centre alley to the platform, where, with a courtly bow, he placed message No. x, neatly tied up like a college diploma, in the hands of the Rev. Dr. John S. Lindsay, president of the House, and retired with the same deliberation. The deputies stood during this ceremony. It is different now. Messages between the houses are expeditiously transferred from back-door to back-door. Some time is saved and a few extra steps avoided. There is also a loss of dignity with which an important act is fittingly performed. Dr. Hart made one feel that a message from the House of Bishops was important, however trivial the item communicated.

The secretary of the House of Deputies, the Rev. Dr. Charles L. Hutchins, was not so colorful a personality, though it is likely that his name was better known to the rank and file of the Church, for he was the publisher of *The Parish Choir*, a periodical which issued anthems

and hymns, and had put forth the most popular edition of the *Church Hymnal* then in use.

THE WOMAN'S AUXILIARY

The Woman's Auxiliary had just completed thirty years of organized work when its officers and delegates from the several dioceses met for their triennial session, with the General Convention, in San Francisco. Among those present were, of course, Miss Julia C. Emery, its capable secretary, and her sister, Mrs. A. T. Twing, who for nineteen years had borne the title of "Honorary Secretary." To these two women, more than to any other individuals, the success of this organization had been due. The Rev. Dr. Alvi T. Twing had joined the staff at the Church's missionary headquarters in 1863 as "Traveling Agent of the Domestic Committee." Three years later, upon the death of the incumbent, he became "Secretary of the Board for Domestic Missions," a post he filled until his death in 1882. Soon after assuming this office, he began to urge the organization of the women of the Church on a national scale for the promotion of missionary work. Up to that time, women's societies had been parochial institutions occupied with local needs. There were one or two diocesan associations with a faint missionary color, but no Church-wide national, diocesan, or parochial band of women, with a definite missionary objective, existed. Dr. Twing, seconded by a few interested clergy, and some devoted women, chiefly in Philadelphia, had been able to awaken sufficient enthusiasm so that in 1871 "The Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions" was authorized, and organized with Miss Mary A. Emery as executive secretary. Upon her marriage to Dr. Twing, Miss Mary resigned, to be succeeded by her sister, Miss Julia. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Twing, whose interest in the Auxiliary never lessened, devoted herself exclusively to its welfare, writing and speaking assiduously. As "Honorary Secretary," she circled the globe twice, carrying to distant outposts messages of encouragement from the home base and bringing back the enthusiasm which contact with the mission field inevitably generates. In San Francisco Mrs. Twing was taken ill, and two days before the anniversary of the organization to which she had given her life, on October 14th, her death, mourned by the whole convention, brought to an end a career of notable usefulness. The Auxiliary immediately voted, as a fitting memorial, the sum of \$15,000 for the erection of St. Mary's School for Girls in the district of Shanghai.

The high point in the triennium of the Auxiliary in 1901, as now, was the presentation of the United Thank Offering. This recurring

gift was initiated at the General Convention held in New York in 1889. At that time \$2,184.64 was placed upon the altar. Twelve years later, in San Francisco, the offering had grown to \$107,000. At the request of the Auxiliary the amount was divided into equal portions, one for each missionary bishop, domestic or foreign, and one for work among the colored people in the United States.

It was a distinguished, even brilliant, company that gathered by the Golden Gate, and to select only a few names for mention seems almost invidious. They are nearly all gone now, bishops and deputies and members of the Woman's Auxiliary. Dr. William H. Moreland, the retired bishop of Sacramento, is the sole survivor of those who sat in the House of Bishops. Of the score of clerical deputies left, one only, Bishop William T. Manning of New York, is still in active service. The record of the laity is not available, but though some of the names in the roll-call reappeared in 1943, they were borne by the children or grandchildren of those who answered "present" in 1901. The first General Convention on the Pacific coast has passed into recorded history.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Dr. Moffatt, in *The First Five Centuries of the Church*, reminded us that the "centuries are like the lines of longitude and latitude upon the map, convenient but artificial," and warned against identifying the transition from one historical period to another with the change in the enumeration of the centuries. He was right, of course. Change is both constant and gradual. It steals upon us unawares. Nevertheless, it is difficult not to feel that a recognizable turn in the social and political tide, distinguishing our day from the Victorian era, had set in with the turn of the century. It seems possible to detect its influence in the deliberations of the churchmen meeting in San Francisco.

We have traveled a long way since 1900. Then bicycles were fashionable, but, as yet, scarcely useful. The automobile, still in the experimental stage, was characterized as "an expensive toy." It continues to be expensive, but is no longer a toy. Two years must elapse before the Wright brothers would achieve their success at Kitty Hawk, and public school pupils were still reciting Oliver Wendell Holmes' verses about "Darius Green and his flying machine." There were no subways in New York and no movie theatres in Los Angeles. Electricity was beginning to displace illuminating gas, but stock in a ridiculous wireless company was going begging on the street in San Francisco.

Individualism was rife, though no one yet had called it "rugged." "Social responsibility" was an unfamiliar phrase, but Jacob Riis had pub-

lished *How the Other Half Lives*, and Dean Hodges had preached his sermon on *The Heresy of Cain*. Church people were beginning to feel that something was missing in a religion which could ignore the dirt and misery within the shadow of sacred edifices. The shameless corruption of municipal politics everywhere in the country was about to provide a fertile field for literary explorers whose revelations, which were to earn for them the name of "muckrakers," would nevertheless arouse a real concern for civic righteousness.

The Spanish war had just ended, and the United States had taken possession of the Philippines and Puerto Rico, and assumed the benevolent protection of Cuba. It had also annexed, at the request of the inhabitants, the Hawaiian Islands. Inconsiderable as the increase in the country's land area was, its effect on the national point of view was notable. Such expressions as "imperialism" and "manifest destiny" crept into the public press. Kipling's *Recessional*, rescued from the waste basket, was set to music by De Koven and became a popular addition to the repertoire of church choirs. The American tradition of isolation, dating from the eighteenth century, seemed less valid as a policy than we had been accustomed to think. Whether we liked it or not, we were touching elbows with Europe and Asia. A little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, presaged the international storms in which we have since become involved.

The Church assembled in San Francisco with a vague premonition of things to come. Missionary problems which were new, or had hitherto been evaded, were now calling for immediate solution. The Church had followed the flag readily enough to the edge of the continent and must now go with it overseas, but the assumption of jurisdiction where the Church of England had a firm hold, as in the Hawaiian Islands, created a situation of some delicacy. Whether we ought to invade lands where the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed prestige was a question that had often been debated. There seemed a justification for entering the possessions of the United States, such as the Philippines, which did not extend to the foreign countries, Cuba, Mexico and Brazil. Opportunities for Church extension both at home and abroad were multiplying, but how could they be embraced unless the missionary income, already inadequate and often precarious, be increased and permanently removed from the uncertain dependance upon casual appeals and solicitations? The action taken on these matters marked the San Francisco convention as one of the turning points in the development of the Church's missionary policy.

STEPS IN CRYSTALLIZING THE MIND OF THE CHURCH

The first topics, however, to engage the attention of the bishops and deputies bore no direct relationship to such urgent questions. Scarcely had the routine of organization been completed and the customary amenities been observed, when a memorial was presented in both houses from the diocese of Milwaukee "petitioning, memorializing, and entreating" the General Convention to change the official title of the Church. Already the ineptitude of "Protestant Episcopal" had been emphasized in sermons and convention addresses. Editorials and "Letters to the Editor" had filled the columns of Church papers. Within the next few years the agitation would be redoubled. No doubt a majority in both houses were so little enamored of "Protestant Episcopal" that they would have favored a change if any substitute not equally objectionable could have been suggested; but there was also a unanimous conviction that, whatever the Church's legal designation, its catholicity was established by its history and its formularies. In the House of Bishops the memorial was referred, as the rules required, to the committee on memorials and petitions. No such committee existed in the House of Deputies, and there the memorial was placed in the hands of the committee on the Prayer Book. The latter committee presented a majority report, requesting to be discharged from further consideration of the matter, and a minority report, asking its reference to a special committee. Both reports were adopted. The committee on memorials in the House of Bishops recommended, (1) that the memorial from the diocese of Milwaukee, which, the report declared, "was worthy of consideration and preservation as a historic document," be printed in the *Journal*, and (2) that it be referred to a joint committee which should ascertain, as far as possible, the mind of the Church and report three years later. The deputies concurred with this proposal by a vote of 39 dioceses to 13 on the part of the clergy and of 30 to 17 on the part of the laity. It is not likely that the words, so obnoxious to some and so acceptable, if not precious, to others, will be deleted until the achievement of some forward step in church unity makes the present title hopelessly inappropriate and suggests a name winning general approval.

No such step appeared then to be imminent. Indeed, a generation must pass before even an overture would be made to any specific group, but at San Francisco a gesture was directed towards union with individual, non-episcopal congregations by the introduction for the third time of the so-called Huntington amendment. This addition to Article X of the constitution had been offered first in 1895 by the rector of Grace Church, New York, from whom it derived its name. It was defeated

then, but was brought forward again in 1898, only to meet the same fate. This measure would have encouraged the bishops to extend their pastoral care to any congregation of Christian people, whose pastor, having received ordination at the hands of a bishop, should agree to use a "directory of worship" not inconsistent with the formularies of the Episcopal Church. In 1901 Dr. E. Winchester Donald, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, moved the same amendment, substantially, but omitting the clause requiring episcopal ordination. Immediately Dr. Randolph H. McKim, rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, offered the Huntington amendment. Both resolutions were referred to the committee on amendments to the constitution. Its report characterized Dr. Donald's proposal as inexpedient, with which the House of Deputies unanimously agreed. The committee recommended the adoption of the Huntington amendment. The debate which ensued was of a very high order. Dr. Huntington himself took the floor, and his speech in support of the resolution lingers in the memory of those still living, who heard it, as one of the very greatest in the annals of ecclesiastical debate. In any case the measure carried in the House of Deputies by a clerical vote of 38 to 15 and a lay vote of 37 to 10, but the House of Bishops, by a tie vote of 27 to 27, failed to concur. The negative vote undoubtedly expressed the mind of the bishops that the amendment was superfluous, merely emphasizing what they were already competent to do. The resolution appended to the *proviso*, adopted by the bishops and concurred in by the deputies, supports this interpretation. The *proviso* itself, which was adopted as a compromise addition to Article X, safeguarded the historical right of a bishop to authorize special devotions. Had the Huntington amendment been written into the constitution, it is not likely that any rush into the arms of the Episcopal Church would have occurred. The amendment was a gracious gesture and the discussion served the useful purpose of bringing the matter into the open.

The inadequacy of the marriage canon disturbed the Church then as it does now. The House of Bishops passed an amendment in which the House of Deputies did not concur. Bishop Doane, of Albany, then moved to refer the subject again to the committee on canons, with the result that another amendment was adopted which also failed to secure the approval of the deputies. Meanwhile the latter had been having their own difficulties. A special committee on marriage and divorce, appointed in 1898, had rendered a report which had been placed on the calendar and, as it transpired, was never considered. For, in the meantime, the message from the House of Bishops had arrived with the text of their first proposed amendment. It was debated behind closed doors, in committee of the whole, for several days. When it appeared that con-

current action was impossible, a resolution offered on the second day of the session by the Rev. Dr. David H. Greer, rector of St. Bartholomew's, New York, was taken from the calendar and passed. It asked for a joint committee to confer with other religious groups on the subject of matrimony and divorce with a view to the establishment of uniformity of practice. With this request the bishops concurred. It seems evident that while the Church's disciplinary relation to this vital matter of social concern must eventually be expressed in a canon, the understanding of the subject, and the comprehension of the scope of the Church's responsibility, is yet too vague to permit decisive action.

It may be recalled that the first proposal to erect provinces in our American Church was suggested by Dr. William White in his *Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered*, first published in 1782, and was made effective in the organizing convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, when the Civil War compelled our southern brethren to feel the necessity of a separate structure. The provision written into its constitution, not in force long enough to produce results, was a forward looking piece of legislation which contemplated the orderly development of provinces by the subdivision of dioceses. At that time there were few dioceses in the country, and none at all in the south, that did not embrace the territory of an entire state.

Bishop W. R. Whittingham of Maryland in 1871 brought before the General Convention a plan for "creating by constitutional enactment eight provincial synods covering the whole territory of the United States." In 1877 the General Convention went so far as to say that there was no reason why neighboring dioceses should not voluntarily associate themselves together, but the only dioceses to take advantage of this permission were those in the state of Illinois. For several years *The Living Church Quarterly* (now the *Annual*) listed the dioceses of Chicago, Quincy, and Springfield as the "Province of Illinois."

Bishop Henry Codman Potter, of New York, addressing his diocesan convention in 1889, remarked:

"I believe profoundly that questions of discipline, questions of race, local questions of missionary policy and progress, far more than merely local questions of civil or material interest, will compel us before long to turn from such a body as the General Convention, already grown too unwieldy for purposes of efficient legislation, and clothed with no power for administering the laws which it makes, to that venerable and well-tried agency known as the 'Provincial Synod.'"

The bishop's conviction, however, was not profound enough to pre-

vent him from reversing this statesmanlike opinion in 1907, moved, as he averred, by the fear of sectional differences.

Sentiment in favor of some form of provincial organization had developed sufficiently in 1898 to permit the adoption, for reference to the several dioceses, of the constitutional amendment still in force as Article VII. This amendment was ratified in the House of Deputies in 1901 by a vote of 55 to 3 on the part of the clergy and of 41 to 5 on the part of the laity. It might have been expected that this constitutional action, which cleared the way, would be promptly implemented by a canon prescribing how and with what powers provinces should be erected, but anyone who entertained such an expectation would have been unfamiliar with the cautious deliberateness of the Episcopal Church. Dr. Charles C. Grafton, bishop of Fond du Lac, did, indeed, on the seventh day of the session, introduce such a canon, accompanied by several alternative suggestions as to the number and constituency of provinces. Already the Rev. B. Talbot Rogers, a deputy from Dr. Grafton's diocese, had offered the same amendment in the House of Deputies, and the Rev. Edwin B. Niver, of the diocese of Maryland, had proposed a provincial canon which revived the enactment of the Church in the Confederate States. In both houses the amendments were referred to the committee on canons. The committee of the House of Bishops reported first, and in their recommendation to refer the matter to a joint committee of five bishops, five presbyters, and five laymen, with instruction to draw up and present a canon on the subject of provinces to the next General Convention, the House of Deputies concurred.

It is no part of our story to follow the fortunes of this canon further. The opinions which divided our legislators were strongly influenced by their churchmanship, but other considerations, as we shall see, were contributing to the urge for some kind of provincial organization. After twelve years of debate, a canon was adopted in 1913 which differed in no essential from the proposal made by Bishop Grafton. The churchman on the west coast, who so promptly organized the province of the Pacific, bore witness to the needs of the "wide open spaces" which the compact little dioceses of the Atlantic states were so slow to recognize.

Much time is consumed in every convention by matters of lesser note which cause as much debate as measures of great importance. These smaller items are never without interest. They revive, or initiate, little irritations which must be relieved for the comfort of the organization. Among such annoyances which have disturbed the General Convention may be listed the recurring question of the translation of bishops. No other Church in Christendom is bothered by it. At San Francisco

the discussion was precipitated by a memorial from the convocation of North Dakota. This missionary district in 1897 lost its first bishop to the diocese of Western New York and, only four years later, shortly before the General Convention assembled, was compelled to relinquish its second bishop to Minnesota, and felt justified in protesting. The convocation in its memorial "consented" ("submitted" would have been more truthful) to the acceptance by Dr. Samuel Cook Edsall* of the coadjutorship of Minnesota, but requested that a canon be adopted forbidding the translation of missionary bishops, or else providing that diocesan bishops be subject to translation when the interests of the general Church required it. It seems to have been the unanimous opinion of the bishops that there was nothing in the canons to prevent the translation of any bishop. There was, however, an unmistakeable sentiment that the bishop of a diocese ought not to be moved. The subject was deemed important enough to be referred to a joint committee of both houses, but up to this year of grace, 1946, nearly forty-five years later, no diocesan bishop has yet been translated.

Some mysterious lodestone draws the attention of the Church to North Dakota. Since 1901 the translation of its chief shepherds has continued. Previous to the administration of its present incumbent, only one of its five duly elected bishops, Dr. J. Poyntz Tyler (1862-1931), has spent his episcopate (1914-1931) in his appointed field. No other missionary district has a similar record of misfortune.

When should a bishop retire? If the action at Cleveland in 1943 be not reversed, the question, first raised in 1901, will not disturb the House of Bishops again. The security offered by the Church Pension Fund has dulled the acuteness with which the problem was faced by a former generation. Dr. James D. Morrison, bishop of Duluth, introduced the subject in San Francisco. He offered an amendment to the canon which fixed thirty years as the age of eligibility to the episcopate, adding a clause to compel all bishops to resign their sees at the age of seventy. The committee on canons reported favorably, but recommended a single change, which, by substituting "may" for "shall," eliminated the punch from Bishop Morrison's resolution. What was said in debate we shall never know, for proceedings of the House of Bishops were then conducted behind closed doors, but the amendment was promptly voted down.

*Samuel Cook Edsall (March 4, 1860-Feb. 17, 1917) was consecrated bishop of North Dakota, January 25, 1899. On June 6, 1901, he was elected bishop coadjutor of Minnesota. On September 16, 1901, Bishop Whipple died; and on October 3, 1901, Bishop Edsall took his seat in the House of Bishops as bishop of Minnesota.

Not unrelated to the last item was the proposal to make the office of the presiding bishop elective. At that time, in accordance with Article I of the constitution, its duties devolved upon the bishop senior in the order of consecration. When the Church was smaller, and its intercourse with other ecclesiastical groups more restricted, the arrangement had answered very well; but, at the opening of the century, the demands upon an aged bishop, sufficiently burdened with the care of his diocese, created a difficult situation. The incumbent, Dr. Thomas M. Clark, bishop of Rhode Island, was in his ninetieth year and unable to come to San Francisco. His report, duly laid before the House of Bishops, ended with a few significant paragraphs intimating that the canons ought to specify clearly the duties of the office, suggesting that it be made elective, and asserting, after the enumeration of certain responsibilities, that "to leave such important affairs . . . to the sole discretion of an aged man who may not be competent to exercise proper judgment . . . seems to me unwise." The subject was referred to the committee on canons which recommended that when the office of presiding bishop became vacant, one of the bishops having jurisdiction be elected to serve until he reached the age of seventy. This was referred to the committee on amendments to the constitution. That committee recommended an amendment incorporating the suggested change but adding a provision that, in case of a vacancy in the office by reason of death or other cause, the bishop senior in consecration should serve until the next meeting of General Convention. Bishop William Lawrence offered an amendment providing that the term of office be six years, with a possible re-election, but that in no case should a presiding bishop serve more than two terms. Bishop Anson R. Graves, of Laramie, would substitute three years for six in the resolution of Bishop Lawrence. Then both bishops withdrew their amendments. Then Bishop Graves re-introduced his amendment, which was adopted. Other amendments were offered, but all were defeated. The final action of the bishops recommended a terms of three years, and this was the communication sent to the House of Deputies. The deputies did not concur and sent to the other house an amendment of their own. This did not satisfy the bishops who asked for a committee of conference. The deputies were persuaded to reverse their previous action and an amendment to the constitution, providing for the election, every three years, of a presiding bishop, nominated by the House of Bishops and approved by the House of Deputies, was ordered sent to the several dioceses for their consideration. But the change in procedure was not ratified in 1904. Not until 1925 was the office of presiding bishop made elective.

MISSIONARY AFFAIRS

While these matters of defeated legislation have an interest of their own, and were not unimportant in crystallizing the mind of the Church, the constructive worth of the first General Convention of the century is measured by the treatment of missionary affairs. The status accorded to domestic districts, the readiness to accept the challenge of a new day, and the changes in policy and method which put the promotion and support of the Church's work on a systematic basis, marked the beginning of a new period in the missionary history of the Episcopal Church.

On the second day of the session, Mr. L. Bradford Prince of New Mexico presented to the House of Deputies a memorial from that missionary district petitioning that "the Missionary Districts be recognized as integral parts of the American Church," and asked its reference to the committee on amendments to the constitution. On the same day the chairman of the House of Bishops laid the memorial before his chamber, where, passing through the committee on petitions and memorials, it was referred to the committee of the House of Bishops on amendments to the constitution. But this committee, on the plea that the subject chiefly concerned the House of Deputies, begged to be excused from its consideration. In the House of Deputies the committee, on the eighth day, reported an amendment to Article I which would accord to one clergyman and one layman, duly chosen by each missionary district within the boundary of the United States, all the rights of deputies except that of participation in a vote by orders. This report, taken from the calendar on the thirteenth day of the sessions, was adopted by a clerical vote of 37 to 15 and a lay vote of 34 to 16. The House of Bishops, as soon as the action was communicated, concurred, and, three years later, the amendment was ratified and written into the constitution.

The missionary district and the office of missionary bishop were created in 1835. At that date the Episcopal Church was, essentially, a federation of the churches in the thirteen colonies which had become states, and in the new commonwealths erected after the Revolution. These churches, as soon as they organized, were represented as of right in the General Convention both by their bishops, when they had any, and by their deputies. This historical fact explains the peculiar significance the word "diocese" bears in the Church's terminology, where it means, primarily, "a unit of the General Convention" and not "the jurisdiction of a bishop." "Diocese" does not supplant "state" in the canons until 1838. It is true that the word "diocese" occurs in 1829

in Canon IV, but there it is evidently used, not as a technical description, but as a synonym for "state."

The federated character of the Church in those earlier years also accounts for the general attitude towards missionary districts. Creatures of the General Convention, not self-constituted like the dioceses, they have been treated as the wards of a benevolent society rather than as children of a family. No matter how well developed their organization, nor how competent their constituency, not until the opening of this century did they have the privilege of regulating their local affairs; and up to the present day the areas of those jurisdictions originally carved out of unorganized territory, of which there are still eight, may be arbitrarily altered by the House of Bishops without the consent, or even the knowledge, of the people concerned. The missionary bishops had honorary seats in the House of Bishops but did not vote until 1904. The districts had no voice, except through courtesy, before New Mexico made its protest. For several years, indeed, clerical and lay delegates from the districts had been recorded as present, and might speak, by virtue of a "standing order" which, in effect, accorded them honorary seats, but they had no canonical recognition. The tardy act of justice evoked by the New Mexico memorial, which, strangely, did not command the unanimous vote of the House of Deputies, for some recondite reason excluded the deputies from districts from taking part in a vote by orders. This provision has since been rescinded. Little by little the doctrinaire distinction between dioceses and districts has faded. For nearly a hundred years the only real differences have been those of numerical and financial strength. Not infrequently dioceses have been weaker in both respects than their canonical inferiors. The next generation may see these superficial indices obliterated. There seem to be intimations that no more missionary districts will be constituted.

Why our predecessors deemed a missionary district incapable of formulating rules of local procedure is another mystery. The existing provision in 1901 gave the bishop of a new missionary jurisdiction the privilege of selecting for his guidance the constitution and canons of any diocese, but, once chosen, no change was possible until diocesan status had been achieved. From time to time the House of Bishops has assumed that it was capable of drafting a simple code to be used by each and every district, and in 1898 had appointed a special committee to draw up such a document. Bishop William H. Hare of South Dakota, reporting in 1901 for that committee, declared that it had been given an impossible job, inasmuch as no body of canons could be drafted to fit the widely differing circumstances of the several jurisdictions. He also directed attention to the absurdity of expecting any code to

be usable if it must remain unaltered until a district became a diocese, no matter how many years elapsed or how greatly conditions changed. The committee offered an amendment to the existing canon which would permit a missionary bishop to offer to the General Convention at any time for its approval the draft of a constitution and canons or an amendment thereto. The committee on canons recommended the adoption of the amendment, wisely substituting the House of Bishops for the General Convention as the authorizing body. The House of Deputies amended the canon further by requiring also the action of the convocation of the district concerned. An additional simplification, since made, permits the final approval to be given by the presiding bishop. So far as is known that approval has never been withheld, and, practically, the smallest missionary district is now as free as the largest diocese to legislate for itself.

Only one new continental district was constituted in 1901, Salina, consisting the western two-thirds of the state of Kansas. The diocese of Springfield proposed to cede the eastern portion of its area to the General Convention, and the customary committee of appraisal recommended its acceptance, but the move did not win the approval of the bishops and the boundary of Springfield remains unshortened to this day.

The conquest of Puerto Rico and the Philippines, the annexation of Hawaii, and the occupation of Cuba, had not only added to the commitments of the federal government, but had compelled the Church to decide its future course. The Puerto Rico situation was simple. The Church of England, represented there for many years, gave its sympathetic approval to the transfer of its ecclesiastical tenure to the American church, and Puerto Rico (then called Porto Rico) was made a domestic missionary district. The Rev. William Cabell Brown, a missionary in Brazil, who was elected its bishop, felt unable to accept, but the fact was not known until after convention had adjourned.

No Anglican church had attempted to enter the Philippines, but though the Roman Church had occupied the country for three hundred years, the question of intrusion was not raised. Were the Islands not now United States territory? American clergymen had begun a promising mission at Bontoc on the island of Luzon shortly after the invasion by the federal troops. Memorials had reached the presiding bishop from interested sources and the erection of an American missionary district in the South Seas seemed inevitable. But doubts were expressed as to the wisdom of assuming the expense of creating an organization and sending out a bishop in view of the smallness of the Filipino constituency and the urgency of other enterprises. Nevertheless, the recom-

mendation of the committee appointed to canvass the pros and cons prevailed, and it was voted to constitute the missionary district of the Philippines. Then the opposition tried to postpone the election of a bishop. Resolutions to that effect, including one offered by Bishop Codman of Maine, proposing that the election be delayed until an endowment of \$50,000 had been raised, were all defeated, and choice was made of the Rev. Charles Henry Brent, who soon began his conspicuous career as an international statesman of the Christian Church.

The Hawaiian Islands presented a different problem. Bishop Alfred Willis had been in charge of this Church of England diocese for thirty years and betrayed no eagerness to relinquish his responsibility. The churchmen of Honolulu wanted an American bishop. Committees had met, bishops had sat in council, where not even the secretaries were permitted to listen in, and much correspondence had been carried on with the archbishop of Canterbury, but General Convention assembled with no solution in sight. It appeared that Bishop Willis had agreed to retire, but had made conditions not acceptable to others concerned. A "mot," attributed to Bishop Nichols of California, was going the rounds to the effect that it was a case, not of "Barkis is willin'," but of "Willis is barkin'." The bishop of Honolulu, however, accepted an invitation to San Francisco, where his slender legs, encased in gaiters, his apron and bishop's hat with the strings reminiscent of horseback days, increased the joy of the populace, and, it was said, the suavity of the clerical gentlemen with whom he consorted; and the mollifying influence of the hospitality for which the city by the Golden Gate was famous, overcame his reluctance to resign. Honolulu was constituted a missionary district of the American Church and Bishop Willis departed, bearing a gracious invitation to adorn an honorary seat in the House of Bishops whenever it was possible for him to do so.

The challenge of the foreign field was as arresting as the opportunities in the domestic area. Indeed, by the acquisition of the island possessions, the distinction between domestic and foreign had become hopelessly blurred. Shanghai was divided, and the new missionary district of Hankow was committed to the brief episcopate (1902-1903) of the Rev. James Addison Ingle (1867-1903). Cuba was erected into a foreign district, but the appeal of Mexico for the consecration of three priests to the episcopate, in order that there might be an autonomous Mexican Episcopal Church, was denied. Three years later the missionary district of Mexico was constituted. Bishop Lucien Lee Kinsolving, consecrated in 1899 as the "bishop *in* Brazil," was present in San Francisco and was permitted by resolution of the House of Bishops to change his title to the "bishop of Southern Brazil," but the flourish-

ing mission, which he had administered with singular success, was not constituted as the missionary district of Southern Brazil until 1907. Nevertheless, the principle, advocated by a strong minority, of refraining from official approval of an intrusion into a jurisdiction claimed by another catholic obedience, already weakened by the logic of events, had been shattered by the choice of a preposition. Fifty years ago this question was largely academic. Recent occurrences have revealed its intensely practical aspect. It is evident that the Vatican has no interest in one of the "four freedoms," whatever its tolerance of the others. But there is little likelihood that the General Convention, at this late date, will consider the evacuation of its missions* in Central or South America, or the withdrawal of its patronage from any of the American churches in Europe.

Changes of far-reaching consequences to the missionary program were effected, not by the transactions of the General Convention proper, but in the Board of Missions, the name then given to the two houses meeting together in joint session to discuss missionary affairs. Its action became canonical when approved by the two houses meeting separately and formally. The measures which won the support of the Board of Missions, but were not at this time endorsed by convention, had to do with the promotion and support of the missionary enterprise. They were put at once into experimental operation and later were written into the canons.

An institution which had become venerable was known as the Missionary Council. Having the same constituency as the General Convention, it met at designated places, in the years when the latter did not meet, to hear and review missionary problems and achievements. Of late, interest and attendance had waned. Its future was about to be indirectly and unintentionally decided. As soon as the Board of Missions had completed its brief work of organization, the reports of the general secretary, the Rev. Dr. Arthur Selden Lloyd, and the treasurer, Mr. George C. Thomas, were received. Dr. Lloyd advocated the employment of traveling secretaries to make personal contacts with the several parts of the Church, and Bishop C. Kinloch Nelson of Georgia offered a resolution instructing the board of managers, the executive body to whose functions the National Council of today has succeeded, to appoint such agents. The motion was referred to a special commit-

*For the rather remarkable growth of this Church in Central and South America, see Walter H. Stowe, "An Encouraging Decade, 1930-1940," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. XIII (1944), pp. 287-288, 292, 302.

tee of which Bishop Nelson was made chairman. Reporting a week later, this committee recommended the appointment of one or more field secretaries with salary, and seven parochial clergymen, to serve without pay, as district secretaries in the sections of the country described as follows: New England, the Middle States, the remaining Southern States, the territory from the Mississippi to the Mountains, and the Pacific Coast. The report of the committee was unanimously referred to the board of managers with discretionary powers.

The importance of this resolution appears from the Church's subsequent history. It was implemented in 1904 and 1907 by the canonical division of the country into seven (increased in 1907 to eight) missionary departments and the appointment of department secretaries who served as liaison officers between the central office and the several areas. Missionary councils were organized within the departments and took the place of the single outgrown missionary council. The mind of those advocating secretaries and departments had been set merely upon increasing the efficiency of the missionary machinery. Unintentionally, the action paved the way for the adoption of a provincial system by approaching it from the practical rather than the ecclesiastical angle. Provinces soon displaced the missionary departments and synods superseded the department missionary councils. The pedigree of the provincial synod in this country is established by the fact that with one accord the department councils and the synods followed the precedent of the old missionary council by meeting only in the years between the sessions of the General Convention. The synod of the province of the Pacific alone has broken with tradition by meeting annually.

The report of the treasurer, Mr. George C. Thomas, was, as usual, obliged to refer to the deficit in the missionary treasury. This recurring red ink item was a constant bugbear. It could not have been otherwise in view of the haphazard dependence upon appeals and personal solicitations. The inadequate canon requiring an annual offering in each parish was commonly disregarded. The triennial assault upon the deficit was opened in the 1901 meeting of the Board of Missions when Mr. Rowland Evans of Pennsylvania moved a resolution directing the board of managers to request from each diocese a specified sum, amounting in the aggregate to enough to cover the indebtedness. The motion was referred to the committee handling Bishop Nelson's resolution concerning secretaries. Bishop L. R. Brewer of Montana then offered four resolutions, the effect of which would be the appointment of a special committee to continue in office until the next convention,

to apportion at once one million dollars to the several dioceses and districts for the missionary fund, and to make a similar apportionment each year of the triennium. This was referred to the committee wrestling with the new missionary canon, but as the report of that committee had already been made and had been referred back for further consideration to be reported again in 1904, the operation of an apportionment would have been postponed also had not Mr. E. L. Temple of Vermont offered a resolution directing the board of managers to decide annually upon the amount needed for the ensuing year and apportion the same to the several jurisdictions. This, like the motion authorizing the appointment of secretaries, was referred to the board of managers.

The support of the missionary enterprise has become regular and systematic. The fairness and necessity of an apportionment is generally recognized. The further adoption of the "pay as you go" policy, opposed by some, as it was, on the ground that it betrayed a lack of faith, has removed the burden of a perpetual deficit. The missionary income will never be large enough to meet the demands of a ripening harvest, but the responsibility for the amount of work done rests now, in confidence, where it belongs, not upon the hopes of a devoted board of managers, nor upon the enthusiasm of any picked minority, but upon the rank and file of the Church's membership. This achievement may be rightly attributed to the initiative of the General Convention of 1901.

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

Our greatest missionary year from the point of view, not of the size and number of the projects undertaken, but of the fundamental principle upon which the Church took its stand, was 1835, when General Convention declared that the Church itself is the missionary society and every baptized person is a member thereof, and implemented its assertion by creating the missionary episcopate. But 1901, when the General Convention met for the first time on the Pacific Coast, was also a great missionary year, signalized not only by the lengthening of the cords but by the wise strengthening of the stakes of our missionary adventure. Greater issues, however, no less missionary in character, face the Church to-day. The most fateful conference in recorded history met recently, and in San Francisco. Its scope was international, its motive political, its spirit religious. For it met to draw a charter for the preservation of lasting peace. Its initial success has already awakened the highest hopes. While the world trembles at the door of a new era in human affairs, we trust, and our country becomes newly aware of

its responsible relationship to all the other nations of the earth, this Church has no small office to fulfil in the preparation for that spiritual unity without which no enduring peace is possible.

No religious phenomenon of recent times is so big with promise as that which is called the "Ecumenical Movement." Its goal is a united Church, its method is conference and cooperation. We are justly gratified by the contribution this Church has been able to make towards the realization of its great ideal. The Chicago Quadrilateral in 1886, the Faith and Order program launched in 1913, the Presbyterian approach in 1937, were more than mere gestures. The time is at hand for another forward step. The situation demands the exercise of initiative and statesmanship, qualities we believe our General Convention to possess. May the Holy Spirit guide its deliberations.

REMINISCENCES OF GENERAL CONVENTIONS

*By Arthur B. Kinsolving**

To sit in the General Convention of our national Church is an educational experience. I served as a deputy to eleven meetings of General Convention, and before I became a deputy I was a visitor in the year 1889 at the meeting in New York City. I remember having been deeply impressed by the passionate protest of the Rev. Phillips Brooks, then rector of Trinity Church, Boston, against the use on Good Friday of the imprecatory psalms.

The first convention to which I was a deputy, then from the diocese of Long Island, was that which met in Boston in 1904. Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts was chairman of the House of Bishops, and the Rev. Dr. Randolph H. McKim of Washington was president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. A feature of this convention was the first visit of an archbishop of Canterbury to a convention of the American Episcopal Church, and we were proud of the manner in which both Bishop Lawrence, our host, and Dr. McKim did the honors. Their addresses of welcome to Dr. Randall Davidson were admirable, and the precedent, which is to be repeated at the convention of 1946, was a signal success.

The chief debate in 1904 was on the divorce canon. The bishop of Albany, the Rt. Rev. Dr. W. C. Doane, led the debate in the House of Bishops for the stricter canon, and in the House of Deputies the prominent speakers at a time when the sentence in St. Matthew's Gospel about the innocent party was held to be valid by the majority of New Testament scholars, were Drs. William R. Huntington and J. Lewis Parks of New York, and others. When Judge Stiness of Rhode Island declared that as a lawyer he had never been able to identify the innocent party, Dr. Parks' retort was, "You know, gentlemen, the lawyers were always bothering our Lord."

At this convention the missionary districts of Montana and West Texas were received as dioceses, and Central Pennsylvania was divided. The name of West Missouri was changed to Kansas City. Mexico was received as a missionary district. The following bishops for missionary jurisdictions were elected in 1904: Franklin Spencer Spalding for

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Utah, Henry D. Aves for Mexico, Logan H. Roots for Hankow, and Albion W. Knight for Cuba.

The successive revisions of the Prayer Book elicited deep and widespread interest in the General Convention and in the Church at large, and several fine reputations were made during the debates. Dr. Huntington and his successor at Grace Church, New York, Dr. Charles L. Slattery, subsequently bishop of Massachusetts, and Dr. John W. Suter of Massachusetts; the Rev. Edward L. Parsons, afterwards bishop of California, who with singular clarity, graciousness and ability presented the reports of the commission on the revision and enrichment of the Prayer Book; Professor H. D. St. George of Nashotah, who from his ripe liturgical scholarship made helpful contributions always; these I remember particularly.

The Rev. Dr. Frank H. Nelson of Ohio in an impressive speech at a later convention moved to insert the words of personal loyalty to our Blessed Lord in the office of adult baptism. The Rev. Dr. George C. Foley, of the Philadelphia Divinity School, a rather broad churchman, one day when prayers for the departed were under discussion and most of his school opposed them, sprung a surprise by saying laconically and with deep earnestness, "I believe in prayers for the dead because there are no dead." I was told that the Rt. Rev. William Cabell Brown, bishop of Virginia, who had conceived a high regard for the scholarship of Bishop A. C. A. Hall of Vermont during their association in the House of Bishops, suggested in the Office of Holy Communion the addition, after the beautiful petition, "And we also bless Thy Holy Name for all Thy saints departed this life in Thy faith and fear," of the words, "beseeching Thee to grant them continual growth in Thy love and service."

The whole consideration in successive conventions of Prayer Book revision which gave us our present book was conducted on the highest plane. I was impressed by the care taken by the deputies to safeguard the unity of our own national Church. Deep convictions were revealed in an atmosphere of fairness, courtesy and an amiable tolerance even toward those who, like Mr. Rosewell Page of Virginia, idolized the Prayer Book as it was.

During my period of service more than once a resolution to change the name of the Church as it stands in the Book of Common Prayer so as to eliminate the word "Protestant" was made, but always failed of passage. An important change was brought about when the rule of seniority determining the presiding bishop gave way to the far better procedure of making this important office elective. The national council was created in the year 1919. The Right Rev. Charles P. An-

derson, D. D., bishop of Chicago, presented a canon providing that when elected the presiding bishop shall hold office until the close of the General Convention next following his seventieth birthday. In addition to any other canonical duties he shall be the executive head of the missionary, educational and social work of the Church; and with the advice and assistance of a council shall supervise and carry on such work subject to any directions of the General Convention. He shall be president ex-officio of the domestic and foreign missionary society, of the general board of religious education and of the commission on social service, and a member of their respective boards of management.

The presiding bishop's council shall be composed of the chairmen of the board of missions, the general board of religious education and the commission on social service, the treasurer of the domestic and foreign missionary society, and sixteen other persons elected triennially by the General Convention. The Right Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, D. D., bishop of Tennessee, was unanimously elected president of the council.

The greatest forward step during the past fifty years was the awakening of our communicant membership, men and women, to their individual responsibility and stewardship in worship, work and stated gifts. The nation-wide campaign with its every member canvass was launched at the General Convention in Detroit in 1919. It brought about a democratic revolution. The scene at the convention when it was adopted was one of high resolve and spiritual vision. Nothing has so strengthened the Church, stabilized support at home and given greater impetus to our whole missionary work.

At long last we seem to be on the threshold of a great forward step in Christian education. For about twenty years I served as chairman of this committee in the House of Deputies and had as fellow-members of that committee some of the best educators in the Church, among them the Rev. Dr. Endicott Peabody of Groton, Dr. Thayer of St. Mark's, Southboro, Fr. Sill of Kent School, President Hullihen of Washington College, Md., and others. This committee had referred to it a number of resolutions recommending changes in our educational method, and presented some of them to the House, asking the appointment of a commission to prepare curricula and report to the Convention following, but without success. Owing to the initiative taken at a recent interim meeting of the House of Bishops at Birmingham, Alabama, plans appear to be in the making providing that the national Church in General Convention shall establish its own agency to have direct charge of this important function, instead of leaving it to a department of the national council. The Roman Catholic Church derives its main strength in this country and elsewhere from its thorough system of education, from

the parochial school through successive gradations. In our own case, whereas we have laid stress upon an educated ministry, we have provided indifferently for an educated laity. Let us hope that in view of the newly-awakened interest in the subject, some plan may be devised by which, using the experience of our best educators and wisest specialists, the Church itself may become more adequately a teaching Church, beginning with the young, using Bible, Prayer Book, offices of instruction, approved graded systems for Church schools, secondary boarding and day schools—certainly one of our best instruments for more thorough Christian training for boys and girls,—with provision for adult education.

In 1910, at the meeting of the General Convention in Cincinnati, a commission on faith and order was appointed. Many years before the able bishop of Long Island, the Right Rev. A. N. Littlejohn, D. D., had framed the formula of the Chicago Quadrilateral, afterwards adopted at Lambeth, which became the famous Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. Bishop Brent was probably the chief inspiration of the commission on faith and order. The members of the commission appointed in 1910 were the following: the bishops of New York, Tennessee and the Philippine Islands, the Rev. Drs. William T. Manning, Alexander Mann, William Meade Clark and B. Talbot Rogers, Messrs. Robert H. Gardiner, George Wharton Pepper and Burton Mansfield.

At the General Convention of 1925 the Right Rev. Dr. Edwin S. Lines, bishop of Newark, as chairman, made a full report for the joint commission on the office of coadjutor and suffragan bishops. It was noted that under the constitution coadjutor bishops have the right of succession. First, suffragans have not this right, as two could not share it. The office of suffragan stems from the early office of *chorepiscopus*, and the suffragan is the assistant to the bishop, and performs episcopal service made necessary by extent of territory and demand for episcopal acts beyond the bishop's capacity to meet them. The suffragan has no right of succession but was given a seat and later a vote in the General Convention.

In 1904 the bishop of Georgia offered a resolution providing for a racial episcopate. For some years the question was debated between conventions of having a racial suffragan appointed to have charge of the Negro work under a group of southern bishops, but in 1919 the Right Rev. Joseph B. Cheshire, bishop of North Carolina, reported for a committee unfavorably on this proposition, inasmuch as two dioceses, North Carolina and Arkansas, had taken action to provide suffragans chosen from the Negro race, for work in their jurisdictions and there seemed no need of further action.

As to convention leaders and personalities, I have always felt deep reverence for the first presiding bishop whom I knew, the Right Rev. John Williams, bishop of Connecticut. In 1892, in Baltimore, Bishop Williams was in the chair when a sharp debate occurred between leading bishops at a joint meeting of the two houses as to our right to establish missionary work in Latin American countries. Bishop Doane led for the affirmative, and Bishop Paret of Maryland took the negative. At the close of the debate the chairman, Bishop Williams came forward with trembling hands, dropping his handkerchief as he walked, saying, "We are told it has not been our custom. I think it is time it should be our custom if we have a message of the Gospel as this Church has received it which these people need." The matter was decided in favor of our right, and the question has not been raised in General Convention since.

Bishop Daniel Sylvester Tuttle is an unforgettable figure as presiding bishop. Son of a blacksmith in western New York, rugged, forthright, humble, on fire with missionary zeal, he proved himself as presiding bishop a manly, wise and effective leader. Bishop Tuttle had an extraordinary episcopate of fifty-six years (1867-1923), the longest of any American bishop. He presided over the House of Bishops at seven meetings of General Convention, covering a period of twenty-one years. Of others who held this office I would mention first Bishop James DeWolf Perry. Son of a venerable priest of Pennsylvania and kinsman of a famous American commodore, Bishop Perry is a noble example of the perfect Christian gentleman. He is a churchman of remarkable balance, of warm and winning sympathies, deeply interested in missions and missionaries. During the period when he occupied the office the Church had good reason to be proud of its presiding bishop.

Of Bishop Henry St. George Tucker I cannot speak without confessed partiality, as I knew and loved both his mother and father, whom I succeeded in the rectorship of my first parish in Virginia. I watched St. George develop from his youth through a consecrated life, as head of St. Paul's School, Tokyo, as bishop of Kyoto, as a statesman dispensing succor in Siberia during World War I. On his return to the United States, as bishop of Virginia, and intimately associated with the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, he grew steadily in the width and depth of his scholarship until called to the high office for which his previous life had so markedly fitted him. Here he has shown great wisdom and kept close to the authentic spirit of the Christian gospel.

Bishop W. C. Doane of Albany was a leading figure in General Convention, and I was told that in the Lambeth Conference of bishops no American bishop wielded greater influence. To Bishop Lawrence of

Massachusetts the Church owes the credit of having with marked foresight and ability taken the lead in establishing the Church Pension Fund. Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, the New York banker, was the able and generous collaborator with Bishop Lawrence in this enterprise, and gave a liberal sum to start it. Mr. Morgan also contributed \$100,000.00 to meet the expenses of the commission on faith and order.

Among the lay deputies two of the most brilliant were from Pennsylvania, Mr. George Wharton Pepper and Mr. Francis A. Lewis. Both were lawyers with large practice, and yet the affairs of the Church appeared to be their major interest. Mr. Lewis had a delightful sense of humor and often relieved a tense situation by his incisive wit. I think the influence of the great statesman bishop, Dr. Henry C. Potter of New York, was greater in his own city and diocese than in the General Convention. In New York Bishop Potter was an Agamemnon, king of men, and perhaps no clergyman of his period wielded a stronger civic influence. Bishop Charles H. Brent, the pioneer of the Philippines, will ever be remembered as one of the rare Christian spirits of this Church. He was often chosen as preacher on important occasions, and was especially effective in his talks to young men.

Among the missionary bishops who returned from their distant fields from time to time to warm the hearts and awaken the consciences of Church people, perhaps none were listened to with more eager interest than Bishop Peter Trimble Rowe of Alaska and Bishop Lucien Lee Kinsolving of Southern Brazil. These two men, each of whom at his death left a legacy of inspiring, sacrificial service, would shake hands on the platform of a mass meeting as a symbol of the reach of the Church's missionary work from the Arctic Circle to regions lying under the Southern Cross.

On the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first permanent English settlement on the North American continent at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, by courtesy it was arranged that the convention should meet in Richmond, Virginia. The charming bishop of London, the Right Rev. A. F. Winnington-Ingram, came over to attend its sessions, bringing with him the bishop of St. Albans, and was the convention preacher. A pilgrimage was made to Jamestown, where the saintly Robert Hunt, chaplain of the first English colonists, had held the earliest Anglican service in colonial Virginia. Bishops and deputies from all over the nation visited Jamestown and Williamsburg, which was for some time the colonial capital, and a warm friendship was kindled between American Churchmen and the representatives of the Church of England.

No one who was in any convention with Mr. J. Randolph Anderson of Georgia can forget the unique way in which this experienced parliamentarian functioned as chairman of the committee on dispatch of business.

The highlights of every convention were the two great eucharistic services, when the Woman's Auxiliary gathered in great numbers to lay on the altar their triennial thank offering, and when bishops and deputies from dioceses and jurisdictions throughout the world assembled for the corporate celebration of the Holy Communion. This symbolized the union of the Church with its divine Head and was an act of self-dedication of the living Church, done in the presence of "angels and archangels and all the company of Heaven." As bishops, members of religious orders, earnest laymen and consecrated women moved forward to the great altar to receive together the unspeakable gift, one felt anew a sense of the continuity, fellowship and power of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the Christian ages, and came back to one's local task strengthened and refreshed.

**DR. THEODORE EDSON'S JOURNAL OF
THE GENERAL CONVENTIONS OF 1838 AND 1844***
WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR

[Editorial note. The General Convention of 1838 met in the city of Philadelphia on September 5th and continued in session to the 17th. It was the first convention following the death of the venerable William White and Dr. Edson was a clerical deputy from the diocese of Massachusetts.

There were then 16 bishops in the Church, the presiding bishop being Alexander V. Griswold of the Eastern Diocese. 76 clerical deputies were in attendance and 60 lay deputies. During the sessions Florida, Louisiana and Indiana were admitted into union.

Foreign missions were being carried on in Greece, Crete, Syria, China and West Africa. In the Church there were 951 clergy and 45,930 communicants. A long step forward in domestic missionary work was taken by the election and consecration of Leonidas Polk as missionary bishop of Arkansas with supervision (where desired) of Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. The convention approved the division of the diocese of New York, this being the first time that a State had been divided.

The Rev. William E. Wyatt, rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, was president of the House of Deputies.]

THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1838

THE DIARY

Monday 3 (Sept. 1838) Married George Bamford very early in ch and set off at 7 in the cars for Phila. Received of Br Boyle 25 dollars for my travelling expenses to convention. Met Rev. Mr Lewis of Mobile¹ found a very pleasant and good man. He goes on with us. Went over to Charlestown to see Mr Soule and was receiving with great coriality. He engaged to preach for McBurney² next Sunday to enable him to supply me. Afterwards found Hoppin in town and made an arrangement with him to supply the two Sundays. At 3/12 took the cars for Providence. There were an immense throng of passengers it being opposition day as it is called. I had Rev. S. Seymour Lewis for car companion. We proceeded very slowly & lost much time.

*Spelling and punctuation as in the MS. For a biographical sketch of Dr. Edson, see HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, December, 1945.

¹Minister, Christ Church, Mobile, Ala.

²Samuel McBurney, minister of a Free Church in Boston.

Arrived in Providence an hour too late and at Stonington two hours after the customary time—When we got on board the steamboat the crowd was great—supposed from 3 to four hundred on board. It was in vain to seek for a berth—and I remained above in the round house all night. The moon shone with superior brightness and it was an uncommonly splendid night. Conversation with Mr Lewis turned on slavery and was deeply interesting to me. I laid down on a seat and slept a few hours. The morning found all stirring very early and the boat much behind her time. It was I think after eight o'clock when we arrived in N. York. Went over to Brooklyn to see Mr Cutler³ and found him ill. All much disappointed that Mrs E was not with me—after breakfasting had a pleasant interview with Mr & Mrs C—prayer &c—and got on board the boat for Phila at 12. Boat very full, and the car accommodation on the Railroad was cramped and uncomfortable. After tedious and unusual delays we arrived in P an nearly 10 on Tuesday evening. With some difficulty I obtained a lodging at a public house and had a comfortable night. Wednesday 5. On going down in the morning found my boots missing. They were probably taken off by mistake I hope this morning by some person who left early for the steamboat. As a pair very much worse are left in their stead or found without an owner the landlord believed mine were taken off by the owner of the worn ones because they were much better than his.

THE CONVENTION

At 10 o'clock this morning a large assembly of bishops clerical and lay deputies and citizens convened in St. Peter's Church for the customary opening services of the Convention. Ten minutes past ten the Bishops in the order of their seniority Bp Griswold⁴ at their head entered the church from the vestry and proceeded up the aisle to the Chancel. They were all present but Bp Kemper.⁵ The procession with the grand and beautiful music of the organ was very striking. Bishop G ever remarkable for his venerable appearance was the more so in his robes and yet more at the head of his brethren. Bp Moore⁶ followed whose flowing white hair and his sweetly expressive face and his appearance of age gave a fine effect. Bp Chase⁷ added much. His portly figure, his full robes and a black velvet cap on his head put him

³Rev. Benjamin C. Butler, rector St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

⁴Bishop of the Eastern diocese and presiding bishop.

⁵Bp. Kemper took his seat in the convention the third day.

⁶Richard Channing Moore, 2nd bishop of Virginia.

⁷Philander Chase, formerly bp. of Ohio. Since 1835 first bp. of Illinois.

a a very favorable point of view. The other Bps succeeded being all choice and remarkable men heads of the Churches in their several States altogether the effect was exceedingly solemn and impressive—Morning Prayer was read by Mr Moore⁸ son of the Bp—the lessons by Young Wilmer⁹ . . . Bp Griswold took up the Ante Com service and Bp Moore read the Gospel. Sermon by Bp Meade¹⁰—“Stand in the ways and ask for the old paths.” He spoke (of) many things & in general very well. Parts of the sermon were excellent—as Doct Tyng¹¹ who sat by me exclaimed “Glorious.” He alluded to the separation of the States as a probable event and hoped the church would be the means of perpetuating or rather of prolonging the political union. On the subject of the eternal (externals) of the Church he was very good and on the spirituals excellent. He spoke well of the Church of England and of Bp White &c.

After Communion was administered Sen-Bp assisted by Bps Moore, Brownell,¹² H. U. Onderdonk,¹³ Chase &c—the convention organized in the two Houses. Some preliminary business having been transacted adjourned to meet in St. Andrew’s Church tomorrow morning at 9 o’clock.

5 o’clock went to the laying of the cornerstone of Zion Church. The assemblage was not very large but the people chiefly women crowded around the persons officiating so closely that but very few could participate at all in the benefits of the exercises. I could neither see nor hear except now and then Bp Onderdonk’s strong voice who on the occasion delivered what I should suppose was one of his commemoration sermons—Met B. A. Shaw who has turned out to be a churchman and attends on Doct Tyng’s ministrations. Also met Rev (G) Shelton¹⁴ with whom I parted company inadvertently last evening. I like his devout spirit much and think his society profitable. Hope I shall be as much with him as I can while here.

He went with me to hear Doct Henshaw¹⁵ preach in the (church) of the Epiphany this evening. Doct H preach(ed) from the passage in the 1st Chap of Philipppines—‘I am in a strait betwixt two having a desire to depart and be with Christ—which is far better.’ What a dif-

⁸Rev. David Moore, rector of St. Andrew’s, Staten Island, N. Y.

⁹The journal of the House of Bishops shows that the lessons were read by the Rev. J. P. B. Wilmer of Virginia.

¹⁰Assistant bishop of Virginia.

¹¹Stephen Higginson Tyng, Church of the Epiphany, Philadelphia.

¹²Thomas Church Brownell, 3rd bp. of Connecticut.

¹³2nd bp. of Pennsylvania.

¹⁴Rev. William Shelton, rector St. Paul’s Church, Buffalo, Erie County, N. Y.

¹⁵Rev. J. P. K. Henshaw, rector St. Peter’s Church, Baltimore, Maryland. Consecrated 4th bp. of Rhode Island, August 11, 1843. Died 1852.

ference in the views of the Apostle from those generally prevalent in the world on the subject of death. He showed the difference in the two condition even of the most favored Christian on earth, No more sufferings no more doubts no more sins. He showed the grounds of this desire in the Apostle. Not in his own goodness or deserts but on what Christ has done for him. . . .

Thursday 6—Morning Prayer was read by Rev. Doct Anthon¹⁶ of New York & I was asked by Dorr¹⁷ to dine with him—5 o'clock the meeting of the Missionary Board was held and Doct Jarvis¹⁸ read his report. At 7½ I heard Bishop (Story) Otey in St. Stephen's Church. It was the missionary sermon before the Board. Shelton came home with me. Had a pleasant interview with him.

Friday 7—Made it a subject of prayer this morn that I might be provided with free private lodgings at some place where I might be acceptable to the people and where I might be more advantageously situated. Hitherto when in Phil. I had always been so provided and was never at expense for lodgings in the city; now I am at the Tremont House a noisy and expensive public. Went to the P. O. & found a paper from Lowell. To Convention. Morning Prayer was by Doct Milnor¹⁹ of New York. Almost immediately broth Clap²⁰ came to me wishing to introduce me to Rev. Mr. May²¹ of St. Paul's Church and he wished to provide lodgings at Mrs Taylors. Evening—attended the missionary meeting at St. Andrew's—The speakers were first Bishop Kemper giving in a plain way some of his experiences in the West and showing the opening extent of the field—second Bishop Doane on prayers for missions showing its power and how much we might confidently expect both in the Domestic and Foreign field if we would but importunately and perseveringly ask—Bishop Ives who alluded to the influence of this work in uniting the Church and mentioned an occurrence which illustrated his position in the meeting of the Board this afternoon when Dr. Jarvis' resolution for a Com to report regulations for our operations in those countries under foreign episcopal jurisdiction (was read) Doct Tyng²² opposed it on the ground that the supporters of it did not see fit to disclose fully their object and said some things more true than acceptable. There was, he said, a disposition to overrule all feeling and to suffer nothing to interrupt brotherly love—

¹⁶Rev. Henry Anthon, rector St. Mark's Church, New York.

¹⁷Rev. Benjamin Dorr, rector Christ Church, Philadelphia.

¹⁸Rev. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, rector Christ Church, Middletown, Connecticut.

¹⁹Rev. James Milnor, rector St. George's Church, New York.

²⁰Rev. Joel Clap, rector Christ Church, Gardiner, Maine.

²¹Rev. James May, rector St. Paul's, Philadelphia.

²²The Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng, rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Philadelphia.

fourth Bishop Otey who was short and fifth Bishop McElvaine who stated the principles on which Missionary efforts should be made that of love to Christ sustaining and animating under all circumstances not asking for the evidence of success as an indispensable condition of making exertion but willing to do for Christ.

I then went to the Trem—paid my bill—6 dollars for three days and took my trunk to Mrs Taylors thankful to escape from such and so expensive accommodations & I think I have here a clear answer to prayer and record it as such.

Saturday 8. In Convention. Rev. Dr Barry of New Jersey²³ read prayers. In the evening I went to the Epiphany and heard the Rev. Mr Parks from Baltimore (Virginia)²⁴ on the text "If the prophet had bid thee do some *great* thing &c. from which he showed most vividly the difficulty with which the sinner is induced to come to Christ—how willing many are to do some great thing for their salvation rather than submit to the requirements of Christ and be indebted to him for all.

Sunday 9. Went at nine o'clock to the Sunday School of St. Andrew's Church and made a speech to the boy's school. Heard the Rt. Rev. Bishop Moore²⁵ in the morning—"He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness but shall have the light of life." He showed the superior excellence of our religion and how that by following close on Christ we shall have light. If we draw near to God He will draw near to us. To conclude beloved brethren, he said, "let us draw near to God. Let us now trim our lamps and gird up the loins of our minds and from this time forth live more devoted to God. And when you try to approach God yourselves O then remember your children. Train them up for Christ. Bring them to the knowledge and love of the Saviour and when you shall come to die they will be with you—and will thank you for all you have done for their salvation and will wipe cold sweat from your dying brow and will smooth your passage to a better world."

At 2 o'clock visited the Sunday School of Rev. Mr Barnes (Presbyterian) author of *Notes* &c.; he examined the school at 3 and addressed the pupils on XV—St. Luke.

Heard Bishop Ives²⁶ at the Epiphany on faith. "He that believeth on the son of God hath everlasting life &c." He explained the nature of faith as applied to the conversion of the heart the regulation of the life and the future happiness of the soul.

²³The Rev. Edmond Drinan Barry, D. D., rector of St. Matthew's Church, Jersey City, N. J.

²⁴Rev. Martin P. Parks, Christ Church, Norfolk, Va.

²⁵Richard Channing Moore, second bishop of Virginia.

²⁶Levi S. Ives, bishop of North Carolina.

Evening heard Bishop McIlvaine²⁷ at Grace Church—"Let the same mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus." This mind was the benevolence of Christ as exemplified in the Saviour's coming into the world &c; the characteristics of his benevolence are that it is *universal*, willing to be humbled and even to descend.

Monday morning—Rev. Doctor Stone²⁸ read the prayers. I dined at Rev. Mr Clemson's.²⁹ At 6½ attended the meeting of S. S. Union at St. Stephen's. No important business. 7½ public meeting. Prayers by Bp McIlvaine. Cumming made a long report crying for money and complaining of want of readiness in the church to pay all the debts the Union may incur.

Bp Otey then read a very long and loose speech occupying the time till after nine—Bp McIlvaine then rose and addressed the meeting for about forty minutes in a most excellent if not perfect speech. It was on educating our children for Christ. He illustrated religious education by taking a little child and following it along through the prayers and vows and offering of the parents of themselves before baptism then the () and exemplifying of Christianity by their lives. The best S. S. speech I ever heard.

Tuesday —Rev. Dr Little of New York read prayers.* Dined at Mrs Taylors where I lodge. Went to the meeting of the Missionary Board at 5 o clock. It begins to come out by degrees that there is a desire on the part of the friends of Doct Jarvis & of his resolution that he should be the Bishop of the Levant. Had a walk and talk with Mr Ballard³⁰ who hinted to me that there is dissatisfaction in Bp Doane's diocese—that the Bishop Hobart policy as it is called is driven a little to (*sic*) hard there. Crane of Burlington,³¹ Vt made to me some disclosures last night respecting the state of things with the Bishop of Vermont.³² It is somewhat extraordinary that these two men should have managed just as they have and that both of them should seem to be now on the brink of trouble.

15. Sat. Morning prayers by Rev. Doct Crocker³³ of R. I. Business began to be settled with dispatch. Doct Potter's³⁴ papers were pre-

*According to the journal of the Convention prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Parks of Virginia.

²⁷Charles P. McIlvaine, second bishop of Ohio.

²⁸Rev. John S. Stone, rector St. Paul's Church, Boston, Mass.

²⁹Rev. John B. Clemson, rector Church of the Ascension, Philadelphia.

³⁰Rev. Edward Ballard, rector of St. Stephen's Church, Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

³¹Rev. S. A. Crane, rector Trinity Church, Shelburne, Vt.

³²John Henry Hopkins, first bishop of Vermont.

³³Rev. Nathan B. Crocker, rector St. John's, Providence, R. I.

³⁴Papers referring to the election of Alonzo Potter as assistant bishop of Massachusetts, which election he declined.

sented. No objection made. I still believe the election was uncanonical but since it has received the authority and sanction by which canons are made and repealed I am satisfied and signed the testimonials with others—a Missionary Bp was chosen—L. Polk from Arkansas. The South Carolina Delegation made an effort to get up an opposition to Foreign Missions by persuading Crane of Vt to offer a resolution to that effect. Rev. Mr. Converse S. C.³⁵ made a speech against F. M's based upon the old fashioned objection that charity should begin at home and that not until Christianity has shed its fullest light and lead its thorough operation through the whole length and breadth of our land should we go beyond its limits. Indeed I understood by the tenor of his remarks that he would make a vast difference at home between the nearer and more remote relations. I understood him however that the Missionary Board might send Missionaries among the colored population of the South.

Afternoon went with Ballard to Fair Mt to the Penitentiary and to Girard College. Evening went to St. Paul's Ch heard Rev. Mr Vinton³⁶ R. I. His sermon was on the words "Then went they forth and preached everywhere that men should repent." It was a sermon on repentance—showed mistakes liable to be made—what was *not* repentance, what *is* and closed with forcible appeals to Christians and to unbelievers.

16. Sunday. Morning went to Christ Ch. Looked in on the S. School. The number of boys present 25, of whom 12 belong properly to the congregation and have seats in the church. The Superintendent told me that but very few of the congregation send their own children to S. School still retaining the notion of its being a sort of charity school.

Bishop Kemper preached from the text "If the righteous scarcely be saved, Etc." His sermon was on the difficulties of salvation. It occurred to me that a sermon or more might be made from the words Explanation and illustration of the terms Righteous and Sinner or Ungodly—Justified and unpardoned—Difficulties attending the courses of the Justified—Case of the sinner and where he will be found.

P. M. Looked in on Grace Church and S School was introduced to the Rector Rev. Mr Suddards³⁷ At his request read prayers Sermon by Rev. Mr Cobbs³⁸ of Virginia. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." In the evening went to Epiphany and heard Bishop Griswold.

³⁵Rev. Augustus L. Converse, rector of the Church at Claremont, S. Car.

³⁶Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, rector of Grace Church, Providence, R. I.

³⁷Rev. William Suddards, rector Grace Church, Philadelphia.

³⁸Rev. Nicholas H. Cobbs, Russell Parish, Bedford County, Va. Later first bishop of Alabama.

Monday 17 Morning Prayer by Rev. doct Gadsen of S. C.³⁹ The Pastoral Letter to be read this evening at 7½ o'clock when the convention will probably adjourn *sine die* Expect to take Boat for N. Y. tom Morn.

18 Tuesday At six o'clock took the Steam Boat for New York on board of which were probably from three to four hundred passengers—great was the crowd. & yet so many were of our party that it was not unpleasant. On arriving at N. Y. I visited br Cutler⁴⁰ at Brooklyn. Started from N. Y. at 5½ and arrived in Lowell at a little past 12 m Wednesday morn.

19. Found my family well and have much reason to be thankful to God for his goodness in respect to health.

THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1844*

[Editorial note. The General Convention of 1844 met in Philadelphia on October 2nd, continued in session until the 22nd. Philander Chase of Illinois was presiding bishop. There were in attendance 93 clerical and 82 lay delegates. Dr. Wyatt of Baltimore was again president of the House of Deputies, and the Rev. William Cooper Mead of Connecticut, secretary.

During the sessions four bishops were consecrated for the home field—Carlton Chase for New Hampshire; Nicholas Hamner Cobbs for Alabama; Cicero S. Hawks for Missouri and George W. Freeman as missionary bishop of Arkansas with "Episcopal supervision over the Missions of this Church in the Republic of Texas." The House of Bishops designated the dominions and dependencies of the sultan of Turkey as a foreign missionary district and nominated the Rev. Horatio Southgate as missionary bishop of the same. It likewise designated "Amoy and such other parts of the Chinese Empire as a missionary station," nominating the Rev. William J. Boone, M. D., as missionary bishop; also designating "Cape Palmas and parts adjacent" as a foreign missionary station, nominating the Rev. Alexander Glennie of South Carolina as its missionary bishop. The House of Bishops, for reasons set forth in the journal, suspended Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk of Pennsylvania from the exercise of all episcopal functions.

The Edson Diary sheds interesting light upon the two features which made the convention of 1844 important in the annals of this Church.

The first was the Hawks case. Francis Lister Hawks had been elected bishop of Mississippi and the election came before the House of Deputies for confirmation. Dr Hawks, when rector of St. Thomas'

³⁹Rev. Christopher E. Gadsden, rector St. Philip's Parish, Charleston, S. C. Later bishop of South Carolina.

⁴⁰Rector St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

*Cf. *Proceedings and Debates of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America held in the City of Philadelphia, October, 1844*. Philadelphia: Stavely and McCalla. 1844.

Church, New York, had established a boys' school at Flushing, Long Island. Overtaken by financial difficulties the school had to be closed and Dr. Hawks was left to shoulder a very large debt. By reason of this indebtedness his confirmation encountered considerable opposition in the House of Deputies, the debate lasting several days. Dr. Hawks' defence was masterly and the House was almost swept off its feet. In the end it expressed the opinion that "the integrity of the Rev. Dr. Hawks has been satisfactorily vindicated." The papers concerning the election were referred back to the diocese. The second was the classic debate on the tractarian movement. By 1844 that movement in the American Church had become a definite issue. The low churchmen were seriously alarmed, an alarm shared by not a few high churchmen. Newman had preached his last sermon in the Anglican Church, and was in retirement at Littlemore, preparing for the final severance. The Oxford tracts were circulating widely in the American Church. The movement had taken a strong hold on the General Theological Seminary and led to an investigation by the bishops which immediately followed this convention.

This convention of 1844 was the scene of one of the greatest debates in its history when a determined effort was made to secure a formal condemnation of the Oxford theology. The debate, covering several days, is graphically described by Dr. Edson, himself a high churchman. It abounds in those personal touches which are the foundation of true history. The end was the passage of a compromise resolution which declared that

"The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies consider the Liturgy, Offices, and Articles of the Church sufficient exponents of her sense of the essential doctrines of Holy Scripture; and that the Canons of the Church afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from the same. And further that the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for trial and censure of, and that the Church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this Church or otherwise."]

DIARY

Wednesday 2. This is the day of the meeting of the General Convention. May it be a day of good omen. Went to church after making a call on Edward A. Newton and Br Ballard. Was called upon to read the Lessons (IX Isaiah, X Romans) and the Litany. I read the discretionary part. Church filled an extraordinary number of clergy present. I did not see Doct. Green.⁴¹ Sermon by Bp Ives from Isaiah X, 19. Ante Com by Bp Chase. Epistle & Gospel by Bps Mead⁴² & Ives. Communion by Bp Chase. Distribution by the other Bps. An

⁴¹Rev. William Mercer Green of North Carolina. Later bishop of Mississippi.

⁴²William Meade, bishop of Virginia since 1841.

exceedingly solemn occasion. A heavenly spirit was pervading. Convention organized by reappointing the President (Wyatt) and Secretary Mead. Evenson I went to St. Paul's to hear Rev. Br Stringfellow⁴³ who gave a good and stirring sermon. Br Morgan prayed in the family. Had a talk on extempore preaching.

Thursday 3. Met Doc. Green and George Balcom. The committees were appointed and seats assigned to members. Session was continued A 5 I attended the meeting of the Board of Missions. Came home to tea was tired and did not go back went to bed and slept nine hours. Doct. Wyatt and W. H. Hoit⁴⁴ read prayers.

Friday 4. It rained this morning Called at Doct. Greens but did not find him did not see him in church. After prayers by Doct Strong⁴⁵ and Doct Young⁴⁶ I went on a committee on elections and before we got through the convention adjourned. Home for dinner. Out to the Missionary meeting at 5 called on Doct Green but did not find him After the meeting I came home to tea and then we went to the general meeting for Missions to the West. By Chase was very long, Bp McCoskry⁴⁷ very good, Bp Polk concluded and another meeting for next Monday was appointed. We came home and the streets were illuminated with processions and rejoicing of the radical party. I was called upon for the family prayers. . . . Bp Chase did not seem to me judicious in his speech tonight. It is true I may be under a mistake. He is the wiser man and has had experience. But still I cannot but think that the scolding style is injudicious, and such minute detail of his own affairs was ill-timed. There were things undignified which made the people laugh without as I felt doing them much good. However God knows and will I hope bring good thereout. McCoskry followed as well as anybody could have followed the old Bp. He alluded to him only as the venerable speaker having said what was true.

Sat, 5. Morning Prayers were said by Doct Upfold⁴⁸ and Rev. Mr Jackson⁴⁹ After the calling of the roll the committee on elections reported and when the question was about to be taken on the acceptance of that report Dubois⁵⁰ one of the lay Delegates from Ohio objected that a gentleman from the Conn delegation (probably Doct Jarvis) belonged to some other church i. e. had in some printed document sub-

⁴³Rev. Horace Stringfellow, rector Trinity Parish, Washington, D. C.

⁴⁴Rev. William Henry Hoit, rector Union Church, St. Alban's, Vermont.

⁴⁵Rev. Titus Strong, rector of St. James', Greenfield, Massachusetts.

⁴⁶Rev. John Thomas Young, rector St. John's Parish, Colleton, South Carolina.

⁴⁷Rt. Rev. Samuel Allen M'Coskry, bishop of Michigan.

⁴⁸Rev. George Upfold, M. D., rector Trinity Church, Pittsburgh. Later bishop of Indiana.

⁴⁹Rev. J. E. Jackson, rector St. Paul's, Henderson, Kentucky.

⁵⁰H. A. Dubois, Ohio.

scribed himself a Presbyterian of the Reformed Catholic Church. The object of making this frivolous objection—was to introduce into the convention a discussion on Puseyism so called. It proved however to be premature and after a skirmish of an hour or two the aggressive party retreated and the business went on. We have great reason to see and I desire most devoutly to acknowledge the good hand of God in the conduct of his church hitherto, that he would continue to make () and that we may see and acknowledge it at the time. After the report of Com of last Convention on the Prayer Book copies of a standard Book were presented to the Convention one for every sitting member to be distributed immediately after adjournment today. Called on Doct. Green and found him, took him to the Prayer meeting in St. Paul's vestry where Rev. Mr Fales⁵¹ and the Rector Mr. Newton officiated & returned home.⁵²

Sunday 5. Went to St. Andrews Ch with Mr. Morgan. Clark asked me to read the lessons to which I consented. Doct. Anthon as I afterwards learned was to conduct the service. So I was unexpectedly and unwillingly brot as it were in public contact with a man with whose course of conduct the last fifteen months I have had no sympathy⁵³ & I found it necessary to discipline my feelings and to try to bring a charitable mind to the sacrament about to be given. The Bp preached on LXII Psalm I verse a good sermon & we then ministered the sacrament The church was crowded, and the number of communicants was great. Afternoon I went to hear Stringfellow at Grace Church and in the evening to St. Andrew's to hear Bp John (Johns)⁵⁴ on the reason of the hope that is in us—he preached beautifully The first 25 minutes of the sermon would have done for a Unitarian sermon 30 years ago. He dropped an important link in his chain of argument. Having stated some of the prominent points of evidence of the Christian religion to show that reason must be employed after miracles, Prophecy &c., He says the question now is how shall we ascertain what is truth and he directs to the careful and candid study of the Bible and repudiates the authority of the church in the case. He omitted to state on what grounds it is to be ascertained what writings are to be received as of divine inspiration and forgot that we are here indebted entirely to the authority of the Church. We have no other means of knowing or deciding what books are inspired and which are not thus by the testimony of the Church.

⁵¹Rev. Thomas F. Fales, missionary, Brunswick, Maine.

⁵²Rev. Richard Newton, rector St. Paul's, Philadelphia.

⁵³Dr. Anthon opposed the ordination of Arthur Carey, and together with the Rev. Hugh Smith read a written protest at the ordination service.

⁵⁴John Johns, assistant bishop of Virginia.

Monday 7 Morning Prayer was read by the Secretary Doct Mead and Rev. Mr Walker⁵⁵ of So Car.

Memminger of So Car⁵⁶ Introduced the subject of Tractarianism⁵⁷ which was argued with zeal. In the evening was the adjourned meeting of the Western Bishops. I went and spent the evening with my good friend Doct Cutler who arrived today.

Tuesday 8—Met Doct Green at the Post Office. Went to Church. Morning Prayer was read by Rev. Cicero Hawks.⁵⁸ Discussion continued of the subject of puseyism. Doct Empie⁵⁹ gave us some postponed Lectures on the subject.⁶⁰ Evening Mr. Southgate's⁶¹ Lecture.

Wednesday 9. I went to the meeting of the S. S. Union at 8½ Oclock Morning Prayer in Church by Doct Jarvis. We had a meeting of the Council on elections which was tedious. Discussion continued till three o clock but no question of the subject taken. . . . Meeting of the Board of Missions as usual Southgate's Lecture was good. . . .

Thursday 10. Morning Prayers were read by Doct Crocker. The House spent an hour in deciding what should be done At length took up the Tractarian question and discussed it warmly till the hour of adjournment At four o clock the Board of Missions met and took up the subject of Missionary Bishops to Foreign countries. They voted to recommend a Bishop for Africa. The next thing was Constantinople which was not recommended and the next China which was objected to

⁵⁵The Rev. Charles Bruce Walker, assistant minister of St. Luke's, Salisbury, South Carolina.

⁵⁶C. G. Memminger, lay deputy, South Carolina.

⁵⁷The resolution presented by Mr. Memminger reads as follows:

"Whereas, in the estimation of many Ministers and Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, serious errors of doctrine have, within a few years, been introduced and extensively promulgated, by means of Tracts, through the periodical Press, and from the Pulpit; and whereas it is important, for the preservation of the peace and purity of the Church, that such errors, if existing, should be met, and as far as practicable removed, by the action of this Convention.

Be it, therefore, Resolved, if the House of Bishops concur, That it is desirable to prepare and promulgate a clear and distinct expression of opinions entertained by this Convention respecting the Rule of Faith, the Justification of Man, the nature, design, and efficacy of the Sacraments, and such other matters as, in view of the foregoing circumstances, may be deemed expedient by the House of Bishops.

Be it further resolved, That it is desirable that such expression of opinion should originate in the House of Bishops, and receive the concurrent action of this House, and that the House of Bishops be requested to take action accordingly.

⁵⁸Rev. Cicero S. Hawks, rector Christ Church, St. Louis. Consecrated bishop of Missouri at this Convention.

⁵⁹Rev. Adam Empie, St. James' Church, Richmond, Va.

⁶⁰In a speech of more than two hours' length Dr. Empie arraigned Tractarianism under 55 heads.

⁶¹Rev. Horatio Southgate—elected Missionary Bishop of the Dominions of the Sultan of Turkey at this convention.

by Bp Whittingham At 7½ there was divine service. Doct Robertson⁶² read prayers and Southgate preached on the oppressions and dangers of the eastern churches and our duty to help them. But he did not show how we could help them. It was ten when I got home. I see Benj Howard here and Benj Richardson and Saml⁶³ Cutler being our chief alarmists in Mass. The Bp of Mass⁶⁴ has been sick these last two days.

Friday 11. A rainy morning. Doct Hawks case came up. The house was much crowded in every part so that the air was sensibly bad. . . . The vindication of Doct Hawks was resumed after dinner. This is the first afternoon session which we have yet held. Hawks closed his () about 8 o'clock by a somewhat pathetic appeal to the house not to send him home to his children who would come and put their arms around his neck and then he be obliged to tell them that he was unworthy of their embraces. The vindications was thought to be triumphant and the excitement when he retired was great. The house were impetuous to act immediately not only in his complete exculpation which was moved in a resolution by Judge Berrien⁶⁵ his friend, but also to sign his testimonials forthwith which was offered as an amendment by Doct. Strong, who as Mr Newton once pleasantly said as an excuse for not advising him to delay or to be less forward—"He *withdraws easily*." . . .

Saturday 12. Beautiful weather. The Bp still sick. Prayers were read by Doct. Empie. Doct. Mead came out and stated that he was not satisfied with Dr Hawks vindication and further stated some other evidence to sustain the charges of yesterday—some facts within his knowledge relating to tempers &c. It appeared that the feeling of the house was so much changed from what it was last night when as by a common impulse they were ready to vote his entire exculpation and the immediate signing of testimonials, that neither of yesterdays propositions could be passed. People who were importunate for action then were not prepared today. . . . Called on the Bp at Mr Robins But did not see him. . . . Went in the evening to the Sat night at St. Paul's⁶⁶ vestry the speakers were Pratt⁶⁷ who talked of Puseyism and Gen Con in the alarmist style calculated to do no good and tending to unfit the mind rather than otherwise for the Sabbath duties. I was astonished to hear such stuff—censorious and schismatic—for he said he had communicants of his Church who were standing aloof to ascer-

⁶²Rev. J. J. Robertson, rector Christ Church, Binghamton, N. Y.

⁶³Rev. Samuel Cutler, rector St. Andrew's, Hanover, Mass.

⁶⁴Manton Eastburn.

⁶⁵John M. Berrien, lay deputy from Georgia.

⁶⁶The Saturday night prayer meeting often held in Evangelical parishes.

⁶⁷Rev. James Pratt, rector St. Stephen's, Portland, Me.

tain what should be () in order to decide whether they would leave the church or not. I thought the fact a sad illustration of the effects of such kind of stuff as he preached to us. Br Mintzer⁶⁸ was called upon and did much better though his remarks took some little tinge of what had been said before. Newton the rector spoke but not in a spirit toward the Convention quite in harmony with that expressed last Sat night. On the whole as an index of the expectations of the party I should judge from what I heard that they have nearly despaired of getting up much of a disturbance in this Con What they will do in the end I know not God grant to make the (wrath) of man to praise him and to promote his glory and restrain the () of wrath for his mercy's sake in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Sunday 13. The day is fine. I conducted the family prayers. I think much of home this morning went with Br Morgan to hear By Polk⁶⁹ preach at St. Stephen's. Preached on Romans III 25 26. The Atonement Showed that as a revealed fact reason must not object Showed the province of reason that the atonement was () by natural religion and common sense The repentance is not a () substitute for atonement and closed with a few horatory observations. The sermon was but little over forty minutes. The long voluntary after the Gospel is offensive. There was a Miss collection. In the afternoon I went with brother Morgan to St. Thomas' (colored) church where I read the prayers and preached. In the evening I preached and he read the prayers. I was pleased with the congregation and interested in the Sunday school.

Monday 14 I went to the Convention at 9½ and continued with an intermission of two hours for dinner till after 11 o'clock at night on the Hawks case. At length a lean vote was obtained testifying his integrity.

Tuesday 15. It was a day chiefly of business. The Canon of resignation of Bps and that of the trial of Bps were passed in this house. The meeting of the Board of Missions was at 5 and convention at 7 which sat till 10½ or 11.

Wednesday 18. (16) A fine day. Morning Prayers by Tyng. The subject of Tractarianism came up and the discussion was renewed. After dinner the Board of Missions met. We had an interesting statement from Southgate and adjourned while on the eve of recommending a Bp for Turkey. But the hour for Convention arriving wherein the old discussion was taken up and a vote taken to take the deciding vote

⁶⁸Rev. George Mintzer, rector St. James', Perkiomen, Pa.

⁶⁹Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, bishop of Louisiana.

at 9½ o'clock. Debate went on wearily. Atkinson⁷⁰ spoke admirably and with effect. Vote taken on the amendment of Judge Chambers⁷¹ for which I voted tho I did not feel strong for passing anything. That was negatived as well as the others in succession. Afterwards we came back and passed the first one, Judge Chambers amendment. We came home after 11 o'clock.

Thursday 17. Business went on today. Cicero Hawks testimonials were signed—and the evening assigned to the consideration of Dr. Hawks papers when a resolution was offered by Judge Chambers⁷¹ that all the documents be referred to the convention of Mississippi for any further action they may seem fit to institute. It was carried unanimously almost the noes were but three or four withdrew their opposition.

The house then adjourned. The discussion in the board of Missions was on recommending a Bishop to Turkey. Henshaw, McIlvaine, Hopkins⁷² and Milnor were the speakers.

Friday 18. A very rainy day. There is now among members an increasing disposition to get through and go home. The Board of Missions met at 5 and the recommendation of a Bishop to Constantinople was passed by 23 to 16. After the session of the Board Convention met and continued in session till after nine.

Sat 19. The morning is fine and bright. I called on the Bishop—saw him—had a pleasant interview. He is better, though he bears the marks of his sickness. He comes into Convention today. Morning Prayer by Burgess of me.⁷³

Sunday 20—The day is fine. I attended the services at Christ Church & sat in the second pew from the chancel. Eighteen bishops present if I mistake not. The house crowded to its utmost capacity. Bp Chase preached Bps of New Hampshire, Alabama and Missouri were consecrated. I went to St. Peter's in the afternoon. Heard Bp DeLancey's⁷⁴ sermon before the alumni of the Gen Seminary—an excellent sermon. Evening went to St. Paul's to hear Dr Johns who preached (on) 'Who is on the Lord's side?' I judged there were fifteen hundred people present.

Monday 21—Went to church at 8½ o'clock we sat till three with a half hours recess because business was not ready. Our delegation

⁷⁰Rev. Thomas G. Atkinson, rector St. Peter's, Baltimore. Later bishop of North Carolina.

⁷¹Lay deputy from Maryland.

⁷²John Henry Hopkins, bishop of Vermont.

⁷³Rev. George Burgess, rector Christ Church, Hartford, Ct., later bishop of Maine.

⁷⁴Rt. Rev. William H. DeLancey, bishop of Western New York.

was full in both orders in the morning. At 5 attended the Board of Missions till seven. Convention then sat till 11.

Tuesday 22—House met at 8½ O clock. Ballard read prayers. Excellent state of feeling prevailed The testimonials of four Missionary Bishops were signed⁷⁵ House adjourned at 3 and met at 8. House adjourned at 12½ o clock I went to bed and had about three hours sleep.

Wednesday 23—A beautiful day I was on board the boat before seven o clock en route to Lowell on the day fixed by the Millerites for the coming of the Saviour and the end of the world.

⁷⁵Rev. J. W. Boone for Amoy (China), Rev. George W. Freeman for Arkansas, Rev. Horatio Southgate for Turkey, Rev. Alexander Glennie for Cape Palmas.

THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1814

By Walter Herbert Stowe

The General Convention of 1814¹ was held May 17th to 24th in the midst of a war which up to that time had been disastrous for the United States, except for some naval engagements. The War of 1812 was the most unpopular of any in which the United States has ever been engaged. The New England and Middle Atlantic states were generally hostile, and public meetings were held denouncing it.

On April 14th, just a month before the convention convened in Philadelphia, Napoleon had abdicated; and the British were able to give more attention to the American phase of the war. On August 24, 1814, exactly three months after the convention closed, Washington was burned. Yet, paradoxically, the nation at the end of the war was not humbled but exultant.

To the creation of this mood Francis Scott Key,² churchman and lawyer, made a signal contribution. While watching the British attack on Baltimore the night of September 13-14, 1814, which failed, he composed "The Star Spangled Banner" in intense emotional excitement. A week later it was published in the *Baltimore American*, and soon gained nation-wide popularity.

The War of 1812 has been called the "Second War of Independence," by which is meant independence of European culture and ideas as the first had meant political independence of Great Britain. It strengthened nationalism, and this, together with other basic factors, affected the American Episcopal Church.

¹William Stevens Perry (ed.), *Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785-1835* (Claremont, N. H., 1874), Vol. I, pp. 399-447.

²FRANCIS SCOTT KEY (August 1, 1779-January 11, 1843) was of a "warmly religious nature," and seriously considered entering the ministry. He was a deputy from the diocese of Maryland to the General Conventions of 1817, 1820, 1823 and 1826. He never took his poetic gifts seriously, but his hymn, "Lord, with Glowing Heart I'd Praise Thee," is still to be found in our hymnals of 1916 and 1940. He was an effective speaker, and enjoyed an extensive practice in the federal courts.

"Until his death he remained slender, erect, fond of riding, with dark blue eyes and thin mobile features, expressive of his ardent, generous nature."—[See *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. X, pp. 362-363.]

BASIC CONDITIONS IN THE NATION

The population of the United States was increasing at a rate almost never equalled in recorded history without benefit of foreign immigration. The 4,000,000 people of 1790 numbered over 7,000,000 in 1810, and the net increase of over one-third every decade was to continue until 1860. Moreover, up to 1846 this great increase was almost entirely native stock. The Louisiana Purchase had not only doubled the area under the American flag; it had opened the Mississippi river basin to American commerce without interference from a foreign power. In 1812 Louisiana was admitted to the union as the eighteenth state.

The population was still overwhelmingly rural and was to continue less than ten per cent urban until 1840. Nevertheless, the number of cities over 8,000 inhabitants increased from five in 1800 to twelve in 1810; and they had a much greater influence, culturally and otherwise, than their size would warrant. Between 1790 and 1810 Baltimore had more than tripled in population; New York City (Manhattan) had almost tripled; Boston and Philadelphia had very nearly doubled.

In 1807 Robert Fulton's *Clermont* made its successful 150 mile run from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours. A new era in water transportation began. Within four years steamboats were operating on western waters.

The War of 1812 was an active form of protection for American industry. American manufactures sprang up. Cotton consumption increased from 500 bales in 1800 to 90,000 in 1815; the 80,000 spindles of 1811 numbered 500,000 in 1815; manufacturing towns were increasing; and New England was able to halt in some measure the westward trek of its young people.

The accompanying growth of towns, of the merchant class, and of wealth, affected favorably the growth of the Episcopal Church by strengthening the parishes which already existed and by opening new opportunities for expansion.

THE REVIVAL OF THE CHURCH

The General Convention of 1811 was the first to give us a "general view of the state of the Church." It was prepared by a committee of the House of Deputies and presented to the House of Bishops, on the basis of which the latter was requested to issue a pastoral letter. This first report, which was probably in large measure the work of two future bishops—the Rev. Drs. James Kemp of Maryland and John Henry Hobart of New York—ended with these significant words:

"The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies beg leave to observe to the House of Bishops, that while the review . . . of the state of the Church affords too much cause for deploring her declension in some places where she once flourished, her prosperity in other parts and her general situation justify the most sanguine hopes of her friends."³

Basic conditions, as well as certain events which occurred in the intervening three years, went far to "justify the most sanguine hopes" of the Church's friends.

The growing spirit of nationalism over sectionalism in the country was helping the Church. The older generation of churchmen, whose energies had been burned up in the tragedy of war, or worn out in the moral and spiritual recession which followed it, was passing away, and younger men were coming to the fore. The deep-rooted fear of prelacy which had caused the first bishops to move with caution during the first twenty years of the American episcopate, was being replaced by the demand for a more aggressive episcopate. In the North during the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Church had been growing, although slowly.

Four important events in the space of four years were more than indications of the Church's revival; they helped accelerate it.

The first of these events was the creation of the Eastern Diocese in 1810. The Church in the states of Massachusetts (of which Maine was a part until 1820), Rhode Island, Vermont, and New Hampshire, was too weak for each diocese to have its own bishop. But by joining forces they could have at least one bishop among them. This "federated diocese" was the "creation of practical men, trying to deal with a practical problem, and it proved highly successful, under proper leadership, in serving the ends for which it had been organized."⁴

The second important event was the consecration on May 29, 1811, of John Henry Hobart as assistant bishop of New York and of Alexander Viets Griswold as bishop of the Eastern Diocese. Bishop Benjamin Moore of New York was incapacitated by paralysis, and Hobart was *de facto* diocesan. Griswold was the first bishop in the area of the Eastern Diocese since the death of Samuel Parker in 1804. Each was just the right man for his particular jurisdiction.

On October 15, 1812, Theodore Dehon was consecrated second bishop of South Carolina. That diocese had had no bishop since the

³Perry, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 381.

⁴See W. W. Manross, "Alexander Viets Griswold and the Eastern Diocese," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. IV (1935), pp. 13-25.

death of Robert Smith in 1801. Under Dehon the revival of the Church in the South began.⁵

The fourth event was the diocesan convention of 1813 in Virginia, which was a turning point in the history of the Episcopal Church in that state. Bishop James Madison died March 6, 1812. On May 13th following, Dr. John Bracken was elected as his successor. Only three votes were cast against him, but those three votes led Dr. Bracken to resign his election. In the convention of 1813 the reins of government were placed in the hands of three "young reformers"—John Dunn, Oliver Norris, and William H. Wilmer—soon to be joined by a fourth, William Meade, future bishop of the diocese.

In the early months of 1814 these young clergymen engineered the election of Richard Channing Moore, rector of St. Stephen's Church, New York City, as rector of Monumental Church, Richmond, then in course of construction, with the express purpose of securing his election as bishop of Virginia. In this they were successful, and on May 18, 1814, the day after the opening of the General Convention, Dr. Moore was consecrated to the episcopate.⁶

PERSONNEL OF THE CONVENTION

The General Convention of 1814 was more largely attended than any which had assembled up to that time. Eleven dioceses were represented.

Five bishops were present: White, Hobart, Griswold, and Dehon; and after his consecration on the morning of May 18th, Richard Channing Moore. All of them, except White, had been consecrated within the preceding three years. Bishop Thomas J. Claggett of Maryland, who was to have preached the opening sermon, was absent because of "indisposition," and was to live but two more years. Bishop Benjamin Moore of New York was prostrated by paralysis; Bishop Provoost of New York had retired thirteen years before; both were to be translated to Paradise before another General Convention convened.

Of the five active bishops in the Church in 1814, White was 66; Moore of Virginia, 51; Griswold, 48; Hobart, 38, and Dehon, the youngest, 37. But these five, every one of whom was far above the average in ability, were a host in themselves.

The Rev. Jackson Kemper, destined to add lustre to the roll of American bishops, was chosen secretary of the House of Bishops.

⁵See A. S. Thomas, "A Sketch of the History of the Church in South Carolina," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. IV (1935), pp. 1-12; also, E. C. Chorley, "Theodore Dehon, Second Bishop of South Carolina," in *American Church Monthly*, Vol. XXVI (1929), pp. 95-104.

⁶See G. MacLaren Brydon, "Early Days of the Diocese of Virginia," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. IV (1935), pp. 26-46.

Bishop Hobart preached the sermon at Richard Channing Moore's consecration. It was entitled, *The Origin, the General Character, and the Present Situation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in United States of America*. In it he summed up his whole doctrine of the Church, the ministry, and the Prayer Book.⁷ It was for many years an authoritative statement for high churchmen on those subjects.

In 1873, when Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, then seventy-three years old, attended the semi-centennial of the Virginia Theological Seminary, he described the three schools or parties in the Episcopal Church as they existed in 1819 and as they were in the making in 1814:

"First, was the *Moderate* party, with Bishop White as the leader; then the extreme *High Church* party, led by Bishop Hobart; and last, the decided *Evangelical* party, with such men as Griswold and Moore. It was a time of great excitement; fierce pamphlet wars were waged. . . . The first two schools were about equal in number; the latter was very feeble, except in Virginia. The old men were followers of Bishop White, the young and ambitious clergy followed Bishop Hobart. Of the five hundred ministers then in the Episcopal Church, there were about fifty who were willing to take a stand with Bishop Griswold. . . .⁸

Forty-nine deputies, of whom 28 were clerical and 21 lay, were in attendance. Every one of the eleven dioceses was represented in both orders by at least one deputy except Vermont and South Carolina, which had no lay deputies present.

Dr. John Croes (pronounced *Cruse*), rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, was elected president of the House of Deputies. The next year he was to be elected bishop of Connecticut, which he declined; and first bishop of New Jersey, which he accepted. The Rev. Ashbel Baldwin of Connecticut was chosen secretary. James Milnor, Esq., lawyer and congressman, to be ordered deacon on August 14th following and destined to distinction as a leading evangelical presbyter, was appointed assistant secretary.

The five bishops who led the Church in the "great awakening" are much better known than the parish clergy who made that leadership effective in the towns and villages of the Atlantic seaboard. Yet the latter are well worth knowing, and the clerical deputies of 1814 represented the cream of the parochial clergy.

A century and a third ago the list of clerical deputies began at the north with the name of John P. K. Henshaw⁹ (1792-1852), who was

⁷See E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1946), pp. 184-186, 191-192.

⁸C. R. Tyng, *Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng, D. D.* (New York, 1890), p. 508.

⁹See W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1859), Vol. V, pp. 545-553.

just a deacon, twenty-two years old, representing Vermont. A convert from Congregationalism, a protege of Bishop Griswold, Henshaw was to have a successful rectorship of twenty-six years in St. Peter's, Baltimore. The communicants of that parish increased from 45 to 474, and during his incumbency he baptized 1,018 persons and presented 506 for confirmation. He closed his ministry as the bishop of Rhode Island (1843-1852).

Massachusetts was represented by Dr. John Sylvester John Gardiner (1765-1830),¹⁰ rector of Trinity Church, Boston; by Asa Eaton (1778-1858),¹¹ rector of Christ Church, Boston; and by James Morss (1779-1842),¹² rector of St. Paul's, Newburyport.

Gardiner, who abandoned the law for the ministry, became Dr. Samuel Parker's assistant in Trinity Church in 1792 and succeeded him as rector. He was a man of exceptional literary attainments, and illustrates the influence of the clergy on the revival of education following the Revolutionary War. He established a school, and from its establishment, according to Bishop George W. Doane, "the revival in this community [Boston] of classical learning may be dated." During Gardiner's rectorship of Trinity, 1805-1830, the parish grew so substantially that a new church costing \$100,000 was built and consecrated in 1829.

Asa Eaton, rector of Christ Church from 1805 to 1829, established in 1815 the first Sunday School in Boston. In the next eight years more than 1,000 children were admitted to it, "among whom upwards of 3,000 books, of different sizes and descriptions, have been distributed." Eaton was thus a pioneer in the Sunday School movement, which originally was instituted to teach underprivileged children to read, especially the Bible and the Prayer Book, when public schools as we now know them did not exist.

In 1803 James Morss became Bishop Bass' assistant at St. Paul's, Newburyport, succeeded him as rector upon the bishop's death that year, and served this one parish until death thirty-nine years later. Morss was a faithful, industrious priest, and the number of communicants tripled during his rectorship.

Ashbel Baldwin (1757-1846)¹³ and Philo Shelton (1754-1825)¹⁴ will always be associated together, first, because they were among the first four deacons ordained at the hands of a bishop in the United States (August 3, 1785); and, second, because they labored together faithfully

¹⁰For Gardiner, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VII, pp. 137-138; C. R. Batchelder, *A History of the Eastern Diocese* (Claremont, N. H., 1876), Vol. I, pp. 562, 567-569; Sprague, V, 363-367.

¹¹For Eaton, see Batchelder, I, 532-533; 538-539; Sprague, V, 699n.

¹²For Morss, see Batchelder, I, 452-453, 458-460; Sprague, V, 492-494.

¹³For Baldwin, see E. E. Beardsley, *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vols. I & II, index *passim*; F. B. Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, Vol. III, 602-605; Sprague, V, 352.

¹⁴For Shelton, see Beardsley, *op. cit.*, Vols. I & II, index *passim*; Sprague, V, 349-352.

in the diocese of Connecticut during its darkest period of depression. In Bishop Burgess' famous *List of Deacons*, Baldwin is No. 1, and Shelton, No. 3.

Baldwin, reared a Congregationalist, graduated at Yale in 1776, and served in the Continental army. He was converted to the Church through the use of the Book of Common Prayer while acting as a tutor. His entire ministry was spent in Connecticut, and in the councils of the diocese he was a person of influence. He served as secretary of the House of Deputies of General Convention for six triennial sessions. "His voice was very clear and loud, and it seemed louder, coming as it did from one who was considerably under size." He walked with a limp, "abounded in anecdotes," possessed "kind and affable manners," and was a ready debater. When in 1837, at the age of 80, he resigned his last diocesan office in a letter to Bishop Brownell, the reading of it produced a deep feeling in the convention. Among other things, he said:

"My dear sir, when I first entered the Church, its condition was not very flattering. Surrounded by enemies on every side and opposed with much virulence, her safety and even her very existence were, at times, somewhat questionable; but by the united and zealous exertions of the clergy, attended by the blessings of her great Founder, she has been preserved in safety through every storm, and now presents herself with astonishment to every beholder, not as a grain of mustard seed, but as a beautiful tree, spreading its salubrious branches over our whole country."

Shelton's entire ministry of 40 years was spent in the area of Fairfield, Connecticut. He was the founder of the parish in Bridgeport. Bishop Brownell's tribute to Shelton in the first diocesan convention after his death was:

"For simplicity of character, amiable manners, unaffected piety, and a faithful devotion to the duties of the ministerial office, he has left an example by which all his surviving brethren may profit, and which few of them can hope to surpass."

Not the least of Shelton's contributions to the Church was his son, Dr. William Shelton, for 54 years (1829-1883) the rector of St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, and one of Western New York's most honored priests.

The three clerical leaders in the revival of the Church in Rhode Island were Alexander V. Griswold (1766-1843),¹⁵ Nathan Bourne Crocker (1781-1865),¹⁶ and Salmon Wheaton (1782-1844).¹⁷

¹⁵For Griswold, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VIII, pp. 7-8; and Manross, *op. cit.*

¹⁶For Crocker, see Batchelder, *op. cit.*, II, 295-298; 313-316.

¹⁷For Wheaton, see Batchelder, *op. cit.*, II, 226-227; 233-234; Dexter, *op. cit.*, V, 804-805.

In 1804 Griswold became rector of St. Michael's Church, Bristol, at a salary of \$600 per year. In 1812, the year following his consecration to the episcopate, a remarkable revival of lasting character began in his parish, and spread to other areas. Like most other bishops of the time, Griswold had to retain his rectorship as the means of his livelihood until his diocese was able to provide an adequate support. In 1830 he moved to Boston. During the twenty-five years of his rectorship the number of communicants increased from 25 to 162, but this does not fairly indicate the growth of the parish from year to year. Emigration of young people to western areas was particularly heavy during that period and was characteristic of all of New England.

Crocker was raised in the Congregational Church, graduated at Harvard, and studied medicine, but finally took orders in the Episcopal Church under the influence of Nathaniel Bowen, rector of St. John's Church, Providence. In 1808 Crocker's rectorship of this parish began and lasted fifty-seven years. It was both distinguished and fruitful. He was elected to nineteen triennial sessions of the General Convention. No authentic records of the first years of his rectorship exist, but from the beginning of 1813:

"He baptized over 1,100 individuals, of whom 750 were infants; he admitted about 650 persons to the Holy Communion; he officiated at nearly 350 marriages, and at more than 550 funerals. The number of communicants rose from 59 to 238 in the same period, the parish having been twice instrumental in establishing a new parish within itself."

Wheaton's rectorship of Trinity Church, Newport, in succession to that of Theodore Dehon, bishop of South Carolina, extended from 1810 to 1840. To that parish he gave the best years of his life, faithfully discharging his duties, which included 568 baptisms, 120 marriages, and 448 burials. He raised a permanent fund of \$10,000, and established the first Sunday School in Newport, thus enabling many poor children to learn to read at a time when no public schools existed in the town. His devotion to the affairs of the diocese and of General Convention was equally conscientious. The records plainly show that he did well his part in the service of the Church.

New York was represented in the General Convention of 1814 by two brilliant priests, John Kewley, M. D.,¹⁸ and Thomas Yardley How, D. D.,¹⁹ both of whom, for different reasons, were later deposed, but not

¹⁸For Kewley, see Beardsley, *op. cit.*, II, 100-102; Sprague, V, 545n.

¹⁹For How, see Arthur Lowndes (ed.), *Archives of General Convention*, V, 435-437.

before they had served the Church with distinguished ability and success.

Kewley, an English Roman Catholic by birth, was said to have been a Jesuit in early life. He became a physician, practiced medicine in the West Indies, renounced the Roman obedience, and joined "Lady Huntingdon's persuasion." Some time around the turn of the century he came to the United States, and on June 3, 1803, was ordered deacon by Bishop Claggett of Maryland, and priest soon after. He served in that diocese until 1809 when he became rector of Christ Church, Middletown, Connecticut. For four years he was one of the most active and influential priests in that diocese. In 1813 he was called to the rectorship of St. George's Church, New York City, and there for three years manifested the same zealous interest in the salvation of souls. In 1816, from the vessel on which he was sailing for Europe, Bishop Hobart was startled to receive a note from him, stating that he was returning to his mother, the Church of Rome.

How and Hobart struck up a warm friendship in the College of New Jersey (now Princeton). Both had brilliant talents. How studied law and was highly successful in his profession. Stirred by the theological controversies in the *Albany Centinel*, he turned to divinity and was ordained deacon and priest in 1808. Elected immediately an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, he speedily proved himself an "accomplished scholar, a sound divine, and a clear and forcible reasoner." In 1816 he was elected assistant rector of the parish, Bishop Hobart having become the rector that year. Dr. Berrian thus appraised him:

"But Dr. How did not merely succeed as an able polemic, but was equally admired as an eloquent preacher. He was a man of noble mien, of piercing eye, and commanding presence. His voice was clear and powerful, his elocution admirable, and almost perfect, his gesture natural and impressive, and his sermons were the ripe fruit of a well cultivated mind, on which he bestowed the greatest labor, and the whole force of his intellect."

In 1817 rumors affecting his moral character necessitated a court of inquiry. The rumors were found to be facts, and with a heavy heart Bishop Hobart deposed him in 1818. How resumed the practice of law, redeemed himself, and as a vestryman of St. Paul's Church, Brownsville, New York, led a "devout and exemplary life." He died about 1856.

The triumvirate of John Croes²⁰ (1762-1832), Charles Henry Wharton²¹ (1748-1833), and John Churchill Rudd²² (1779-1848), did more to save and revive the Church in New Jersey than any other three men.

Croes (pronounced *Cruze*) was the son of a Polish father and a German mother; the former was born in Polish Prussia, the latter in Saxony. His parents were too poor to provide him with an education, but consented to his acquiring one at his own expense. This he did without benefit of any college. He served in the Continental army during the Revolutionary War, became a teacher, and prepared for the ministry. In 1789 he began as a lay reader in Trinity Church, Swedesborough, New Jersey, and was ordained deacon, 1790, and priest, 1792, by Bishop White. In 1801 he accepted a joint call as rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, and as head of Queen's (now Rutgers) College Preparatory School. Each was too poor to secure proper leadership at its sole expense. In both positions Croes was highly successful. The school gained a national reputation and led to the reopening of the college which had been closed by the war. In 1808 the pressure of ecclesiastical duties led him to give up the school; but he retained the rectorship of the parish until his death. New Jersey was a diocese for thirty years, 1785-1815, before it had a bishop. Much of the burden of diocesan affairs fell on Croes' shoulders long before he was consecrated its first bishop; and in every responsibility he was found faithful. During his episcopate, 1815-1832, a solid foundation was laid upon which his successors reared the superstructure of a strong diocese.

Wharton was an American born Roman Catholic, educated by the Jesuits in Europe, and ordained priest there in 1772. Subsequent studies in England led him to abandon the Roman Catholic Church in formal statements published in 1784 and 1785. Beginning with his rectorship of Immanuel Church, New Castle, Delaware, he was one of the leading Episcopal clergymen of the country. He played an influential part in the General Conventions of 1785 and 1786, by which the groundwork of the Church's organization was laid. In 1798 he became rector of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, New Jersey, where he remained the rest of his life. In 1801 he was elected president of Columbia College, New York, accepted the office, but immediately resigned it, probably

²⁰For Croes, see John N. Norton, *Life of Bishop Croes* (New York, 1859), pp. 208; Sprague, V, pp. 378-383.

²¹For Wharton, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, pp. 26-27.

²²For Rudd, see Sprague, V, pp. 501-506.

because of poor health. Wharton was a tower of strength to the Church in New Jersey during its critical period. His spiritual and intellectual qualities were held in high esteem.

Rudd was educated as a Congregationalist, but early came under the influence of Hobart and was ordained in 1805. His rectorship of St. John's Church, Elizabeth, New Jersey, lasted from 1805 to 1826. He found both the diocese and the parish in a depressed state when he began his ministry there. When he left, both had changed for the better. The congregation of 100 had increased to more than 350; the church had been enlarged and repaired at a cost of \$4,000.00; a rectory, costing \$3,000, had been built and paid for; and he had officiated at 379 baptisms, 96 marriages, and 225 burials. In addition he had carried a large share of diocesan work.

Rudd's reputation as a Church journalist was outstanding. On Bishop Hobart's urging he moved to Auburn, New York. There he founded and edited from 1827 until his death *The Gospel Messenger*, a weekly Church paper, which had a large influence in upstate and western New York, and among New York emigrants to the west and south. "Nearly every intelligent Church family took it in as if it were their daily bread, and read it from end to end." Charles W. Hayes, historian of the diocese of Western New York, maintained as late as 1904 that it was "the best, though not the ablest, weekly Church paper we have ever had in this country."

Pennsylvania was one of two dioceses to have a full delegation of four clerical deputies in 1814: Dr. Joseph Pilmore (1739-1825),²³ rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia; Dr. James Abercrombie (1758-1841),²⁴ senior assistant minister of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, of which Bishop White was the rector; James Wiltbank, rector of Trinity Church, Oxford, and of All Saints', Lower Dublin; and Levi Bull, rector of St. Gabriel's, Berks County, and St. Mary's, Chester County.

Pilmore, English born, converted by John Wesley and educated under his direction, was one of the two preachers who responded to Wesley's call for volunteers to go to America in 1769. He itinerated from Boston to Georgia with remarkable success. Being a staunch loyalist, he returned to England in 1774. His vigorous opposition to Wesley's Deed of Declaration of 1784 led Pilmore to abandon Methodism and return to America. In 1785 Bishop Seabury ordained him deacon and priest. After a ministry of eight years in Philadelphia and its vicinity, he became rector of Christ Church, New York, 1793-1804.

²³For Pilmore, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, pp. 609-610; also, Sprague, V, 392-399.

²⁴For Abercrombie, see Sprague, V, 392-399.

In the latter year he returned to Philadelphia as rector of St. Paul's Church until the end of his life. Not until 1821, when he was eighty-two, did his mental powers begin to fail. He died in his eighty-sixth year.

"Pilmore was a man of massive frame and robust constitution. His bearing was dignified and his voice described as sonorous."

He was one of the most eloquent preachers of the evangelical type in his generation, and did much to set the pattern of the evangelical parishes in Philadelphia. St. Paul's had about 700 communicants in his day, which was a large congregation for the Episcopal Church of that time.

Abercrombie, son of a Scotsman, was born in Philadelphia. His father was lost at sea when James, Jr., was but two years old. His mother reared him with the hope and expectation that he would enter the ministry, but the Revolutionary War interrupted his plans, and not until 1793, when he was thirty-five, was he ordained. His whole ministry was spent in the one parish. In 1800, together with the Rev. Dr. Magaw, he founded the Philadelphia Academy, and in 1803 he became its sole director. In 1817 pressure of clerical duties led him to resign it.

Abercrombie was one of the most impressive readers of the liturgy and the lections in America. "He passed through life, and discharged the duties of a long and prominent ministry in his native city, with the respect of his brethren, the general reverence of the community, and the warm affection of a large circle of friends." He died in his eighty-fourth year.

The two clerical deputies from Delaware—Robert Clay (1749-1831),²⁵ rector of Immanuel Church, New Castle, and William Pryce,²⁶ rector of St. James' Church, Newport, were the only two clergymen in that diocese, which had been organized in 1786 and which had never had a bishop. These two held the fort during the dark days of the Church's weakness.

Robert Clay, the brother of the Rev. Slaton Clay of Pennsylvania, was born in New Castle, Delaware. In early life he was in the mercantile business in Philadelphia. In 1787, at the age of thirty-eight, he was ordained by Bishop White, and for thirty-six years he was the rector of Immanuel Church, New Castle.

²⁵For Clay, see Sprague, V, p. 357.

²⁶For Pryce, see George B. Utley, *The Life and Times of Thomas John Claggett* (Chicago, 1913), p. 114.

William Pryce was ordained in 1795 by Bishop Claggett of Maryland. In 1803 he was appointed the agent of the diocesan convention of Delaware to request the diocese of Maryland, first, to allow Delaware to be united with Maryland; and, second, "that when it was deemed expedient by the Church in Maryland, their [Delaware's] convention would cheerfully join in electing a bishop for the Eastern Shore of Maryland and the State of Delaware." Both of these sensible ideas the Maryland convention rejected. Not until 1841, thirty-eight years after this appeal, was Delaware to have a bishop.

Maryland's deputation included two future bishops, one future organizer of a new diocese, and one future schismatic. James Kemp (1764-1827),²⁷ rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, and William Murray Stone (1779-1837),²⁸ rector of Stepney parish, Somerset County, were the future bishops. Daniel Stephens (1778-1850),²⁹ rector of St. Paul's, Queen Anne's County, was the future organizer of a new diocese; and George Dashiell (1770-1852),³⁰ rector of St. Peter's, Baltimore, was the future schismatic.

Kemp, born in Scotland and educated as a Presbyterian, graduated from Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1786. In 1787 he came to America, obtained a position as tutor on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and there came under the influence of John Bowie, rector of Great Choptank parish. He read for holy orders and was ordained both deacon and priest in 1789 by Bishop White. In 1790 he succeeded Bowie as rector, and remained in that parish for over twenty years. In 1813 he succeeded Dr. J. G. H. Bend in St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, which rectorship he held until his death.

In 1812 Maryland had sought to elect a suffragan bishop to assist Bishop Claggett. A two-thirds vote in each order was necessary to elect. Kemp received the required two-thirds in the clerical order, but not in the lay order. In the diocesan convention of 1814, immediately following the close of the General Convention, Kemp was elected by the required two-thirds majority in both orders. Six clergymen, headed by George Dashiell, and seventeen laymen protested to the House of Bishops, but the consecrating bishops—White, Hobart and Richard Channing Moore—considered the objections unconvincing, and Kemp was consecrated the first suffragan bishop in America, September 1, 1814.

In 1816 Kemp succeeded as diocesan upon Claggett's death. By tact and moderation he did much to smooth the troubled waters, and

²⁷For Kemp, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 318-319; Sprague, V, 374-377; Perry, *Bishops of the American Church*, p. 35.

²⁸For Stone, see Sprague, V, 484-487; Perry, p. 53.

²⁹For Stephens, see Sprague, V, 519-525.

³⁰For Dashiell, see Sprague, V, 313n.

under his leadership Maryland began to share in the revival strongly under way both in the North and the South. He died at the age of sixty-three as the result of a stage coach accident.

George Dashiell was a native of Maryland, and at the age of twenty was licensed by the diocesan convention as a lay reader in his home parish of Stepney. In 1791 he was ordained by Bishop White and held successive parishes in Delaware and Maryland until St. Peter's, Baltimore, was erected for him. He was eloquent and accomplished, but "disappointed ambition," according to Francis L. Hawks, Maryland historian, "writhed under the discovery that if a suffragan bishop were appointed, he would not be the rector of St. Peter's."

When the House of Bishops refused to accept the protest of Dashiell and his associates against the consecration of Kemp, they appealed to Dr. Provoost, retired bishop of New York, to consecrate Dashiell. When nothing came of this, they waited upon Bishop Claggett for the same purpose. Their arguments proving unavailing, Dashiell and three others established what they called "The Evangelical Episcopal Church," and Dashiell assumed the functions of a bishop in ordaining ministers. He was deposed in 1815, and his three colleagues likewise. When in 1826 Dashiell moved to Kentucky, the schism collapsed. He continued to live in the West until near his death, which occurred in New York at the age of eighty-two.

Stone, a native of Maryland and a graduate of Washington College, Kent County, studied theology under George Dashiell. In 1802, immediately following his ordination as a deacon, he began his very successful rectorship of twenty-seven years in Stepney parish, Somerset County. In 1806 he reported 500 communicants, an exceptional number in those days.

The bitterness of party spirit first reached its height in Maryland. For three years after Kemp's death, contention prevented the election of his successor. In 1830 Stone was elected as a compromise candidate and was consecrated on October 1st of that year. Stone cannot be called a great bishop, but his diocese had a measure of peace for seven years.

"In the discharge of his episcopal duties, he was active, industrious and faithful; and by the union of firmness and moderation, uprightness and kindliness, he gained the general confidence and good will of his diocese. In his journeyings through the state he was everywhere received with marked reverence and affection. He visited all the parishes in his diocese once in two years, and some of them once a year. His attention to vacant parishes particularly was most faithful."

Daniel Stephens was born on a farm in Bedford County, Pennsylvania, the son of Baptist parents. He early showed a thirst for learning and a desire to enter the Baptist ministry. He was twenty-five years old, however, before he could enter Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, where he graduated in two years with highest honors. While teaching school in Easton, Maryland, he was given access to the library of the Rev. Joseph Jackson, the Episcopal minister in that place. This was fatal to Stephens' connection with the Baptists. He now read for orders in the Episcopal Church under Jackson and Kemp, and was ordained in 1809 by Bishop Claggett.

In 1808 Stephens married Margaret Wingate, a young widow whose maiden name was Meeds. She was the great-granddaughter of the Rev. Henry Nichols, first resident S. P. G. missionary in Pennsylvania. She bore him fifteen children.

After ministering and teaching in various places in Maryland and Virginia, the last of which in the East was at Staunton, Virginia, Stephens accepted a call to St. Peter's Church, Columbia, Tennessee, in 1829. Here on July 1st of that year he joined James H. Otey and John Davis, deacon, together with a small band of laymen, in the organization of the diocese of Tennessee. In 1833 he participated in the election of Otey as first bishop. In the same year he organized St. James' parish, Bolivar, and remained there until in 1849 increasing infirmities caused him to retire.

Bishop Otey wrote of Stephens:

"Besides his forty years of ministerial labor, the necessities of his large family compelled him to teach school during nearly the whole of that period; and he brought to this task the same industry, zeal and ability which he exhibited in the pulpit. Thus, although his lot was cast generally in frontier parishes, small in numbers and unable to contribute largely for church services, his unwearied industry and conscientious economy enabled him to bring up and educate, without being a burthen to others, his large family of children. How pleasant the memory of such a Father, Pastor, and Friend."

Two of the young "reformers"—William Holland Wilmer (1782-1827),³¹ rector of St. Paul's Church, Alexandria, and Oliver Norris (1786-1825),³² rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, represented the diocese of Virginia in the General Convention of 1814. The third deputy

³¹For Wilmer, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 315-317; also, Sprague, V, 515-519.

³²For Norris, see William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, index *passim*.

was Hugh Coran Boggs³³ (d. Sept. 17, 1828), rector of Berkeley parish, Spotsylvania County, from 1788 until his death forty years later. Boggs was ordered deacon, September 21, 1788, by Bishop White, and was considerably older than the other two.

Oliver Norris was born in Maryland of Quaker descent. Under the preaching of George Dashiell of St. Peter's, Baltimore, he was converted, studied for the ministry, and was ordered deacon in 1809 by Bishop Claggett. After ministering at Elk Ridge and near Bladensburg in Maryland, he came to Virginia and served Christ Church, Alexandria, until his early death at the age of thirty-nine. His part in the revival of the Church in Virginia was notable, and he was instrumental in the organization of the Virginia Theological Seminary. Bishop Meade, a puritanical judge of people, said of him :

"He was an affectionate pastor and faithful preacher of the Gospel, very dear to his people, and esteemed in the Church in Virginia."

William Holland Wilmer was by all odds the leading clergyman in Virginia until his untimely death at the age of forty-five. The breadth of his interests and the intensity of his efforts are amazing. He came from a strong clerical family in Maryland, and graduated from Washington College there. Merchandising did not satisfy his strong convictions and he, therefore, prepared for the ministry and was ordered deacon in 1809 by Bishop Claggett. After an initial ministry in Chester parish, Maryland, he entered upon his notable rectorship of St. Paul's, Alexandria, in 1812. The congregation grew, and a new church was erected in 1818.

His leadership in initiating the revival of the Church in the diocese of Virginia has already been indicated. To this revival he made several contributions. The first original devotional manual of this Church—*The Episcopal Manual*—written by Wilmer, was published in 1815 and many times reprinted. In 1818 the Society for the Education of Young Men for the Ministry was organized, and in 1819 the *Washington Theological Repertory* was founded. The movement for systematic theological training resulted in the organization of the Virginia Theological Seminary in 1823, with Wilmer as one of the faculty. Wilmer was president of the House of Deputies of the General Convention, 1817-1826, inclusive, and ended his many-sided career as president of the College of William and Mary and rector of Bruton parish, Williamsburg. Two of his sons, Richard Hooker Wilmer and George

³³For Boggs, see Meade, *op. cit.*, index *passim*.

T. Wilmer, entered the ministry. The former became the second bishop of Alabama.

The Church in North Carolina was still without diocesan organization and, therefore, had no representation in the General Convention of 1814. Three years later the diocese of North Carolina was organized, and in the General Convention of 1817 it was represented by one lay deputy.

Two clerical deputies represented South Carolina in the General Convention of 1814: John S. Tschudy, rector of St. John's parish, Berkeley, who was ordained in 1808 by Bishop Claggett of Maryland; and Christopher E. Gadsden (1785-1852),³⁴ then assistant minister of St. Philip's Church, Charleston, and later fourth bishop of South Carolina (1840-1852).

Gadsden prepared for college in Charleston, where he was born, and graduated from Yale in 1804 in the same class with John C. Calhoun, with whom he enjoyed a lifelong friendship. He was ordered deacon in 1807 by Bishop Moore of New York, and began his ministry in St. John's Church, Berkeley, South Carolina. Disastrous reverses in the family fortunes necessitated Gadsden's tutoring students during the first six years of his ministry. In 1810 he was priested by Bishop Madison of Virginia, and in the same year began his long connection with St. Philip's, Charleston, which ended only with his death.

In the General Convention of 1814 Gadsden introduced the original resolution in favor of the establishment of a theological seminary, which resulted in the founding of the General Theological Seminary, of which Gadsden was ever a firm friend.

Bishop Perry states that Gadsden's episcopate was "marked by growth and spiritual development, and made noteworthy by his untiring labors and marked success." The statistics of the first ten years of his episcopate bear this out. The clergy of South Carolina numbered 46 in 1840; 71 in 1850; an increase of 54 per cent. The number of parishes and congregations rose from 37 to 53, an increase of 43 per cent. Communicants increased 67 per cent in the decade—from 2,936 in 1840 to 4,916 in 1850. But what is particularly notable about this latter record is the remarkable increase in the number of Negro communicants, indicating that the Church in South Carolina was doing a splendid work among the colored people: Whereas the white communicants increased from 1,963 in 1840 to 2,669 in 1850, or 35 per

³⁴For Gadsden, see Dexter, V, 655-658; Perry, *Bishops of the American Church*, p. 79; Sprague, V, 510-514.

cent, the colored communicants increased from 973 in 1940 to 2,247 in 1850, or 130 per cent.³⁵

One remarkable fact about this group of twenty-eight clerical deputies to the General Convention of 1814 is that at least eleven, or 40 per cent of the total—Henshaw, Baldwin, Crocker, Kewley, Croes, Wharton, Rudd, Pilmore, Kemp, Stephens, and Norris—were converts to the Church. The number may have been larger, but biographical data are lacking for some. This fact indicates two things: (1) The Church's appeal was already proving effective; and (2) these converts were men of conviction, in positions of leadership, who were themselves accelerating the Church's revival, already well under way.

Another fact is that several had combined teaching or tutoring with their ministry. This, to be sure, was because of economic necessity, especially up to 1810 or thereabouts. Nonetheless, it indicates the influence of the clergy in the revival of education when public school systems were practically unheard of. In short, it demonstrates once again the leavening influence of the Church upon society in educating the state to assume its proper responsibilities for the welfare of the people.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN 1814

Against the background of basic conditions and personalities, sketched above, we can now better understand the report of the committee of the House of Deputies on the state of the Church. The membership of this committee was entirely of clergymen, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Henshaw, Gardiner, Wheaton, Shelton, How, Rudd, Abercrombie, Pryce, Wilmer, and Tschudy—one from each state represented in the convention.

In New Hampshire the Church appeared to be "stationary"; in Massachusetts, on the other hand, "the general appearance of the Church" was "highly flattering." Two new church edifices had been erected, new congregations formed, and some of the older ones "considerably enlarged." The Church in Rhode Island was "also flourishing"; the congregations were all, except one, "large and prosperous."

In Vermont, the question of the Church lands, given to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (the S. P. G.) in colonial times, was still undecided as to post-war ownership. Thus the support of a sufficient number of clergymen presented "an insuperable obstacle to the growth of the Church there." The two or three clergymen who had labored there had had success in forming several congregations, which were "zealous and flourishing."

³⁵J. D. McCullough, "Church in South Carolina," in A. A. Benton (ed.), *The Church Cyclopaedia* (Philadelphia, 1884), pp. 704.

The consecration of Griswold in 1811, in spite of his being tied to the rectorship of his parish in Bristol, Rhode Island, had given a great lift to the Church throughout the Eastern Diocese. He had ordained three priests and four deacons; confirmed 1,504 persons in three years; and there were six candidates for holy orders.

Connecticut, the only part of New England not in the Eastern Diocese, had lost its bishop, Abraham Jarvis, the preceding year; but they had hopes of speedily filling the vacancy "as soon as provision is made for its support." These hopes were not to be realized until five years later, however, principally because of the difficulty of creating the needed endowment fund. Jarvis in the last two years of his life had ordained one priest and three deacons, and had confirmed 464 persons; the clergy were "zealous in the discharge of their duties"; "several new church edifices" had been erected in the preceding triennium; and the laity were manifesting "an increased solicitude . . . to provide means for the support of the clergy, and to have the places for public worship kept in decent repair."

At this time New York was setting the pace for all the dioceses, as its *de facto* bishop, Hobart, was doing the same for the American episcopate. The schedule of visitations which he inaugurated had never been heard of in America before his day. In 1812 he had visited thirty-seven congregations in various parts of the state, and administered confirmation in 21 of them to 500 persons; in 1813, thirty-two congregations were visited, and in sixteen of them 1,100 persons were confirmed. In addition he had ordained six priests and thirteen deacons, and had consecrated seven churches. Four missionaries were being employed in upstate New York west of Albany.

To a present day bishop, the number of visitations does not appear large. But when it is remembered that they were made without benefit of railroad or automobile, but by horse and buggy or stage coach over uncertain roads, the accomplishment was a feat.

One fact which this period clearly demonstrates is that the Church did not begin to grow rapidly until episcopal visitations were regular and confirmation frequently administered. Another is that Hobart's visitations gave a great boost to the morale of his clergy, especially those more or less isolated on the frontier. Any priest who has served in a one parish town in the Middle or Far West, where distances are great and fellowship with one's brethren difficult or impossible, can appreciate this. Hobart's visits to the missionary frontier were like Wellington's inspections of his front battle lines, and with comparable results: the commanding officer in each case won the devotion of his

subordinates because they knew he was genuinely interested in them and their problems.

New Jersey in 1814 had twenty-seven duly organized congregations, but only seven enjoyed "the constant services of the ministry"; four or five others had services regularly, but not every Sunday. Of the total of nine clergymen, six were instituted rectors. What we should now call a diocesan missionary fund had been started to provide ministrations to those congregations not able to support ministers.

A Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and Piety had been organized "for the purpose of gratuitously distributing Bibles, Prayer Books, and religious tracts, and if the funds admit of it, giving aid to young men designed for the ministry." This society is still in existence and functioning (1946). Since the General Convention of 1811, an increased attention to the concerns of religion and the Church had been noted, which had manifested itself particularly "in repairing and improving the places of public worship."

New Jersey's slow growth up to this time was due to several causes which cannot be enumerated here, but the principal one was that it had had no bishop to administer confirmation, except as one was "borrowed" now and then from New York or Pennsylvania for that purpose or for ordinations. Confirmation was administered but three times before 1814, and but five times in the diocese's thirty years' existence, 1785-1815. In 1809 Bishop White confirmed 251 persons in Trinity Church, Swedesborough; in 1812, Bishop Hobart confirmed 50 in St. Peter's, Perth Amboy, and 74 in St. John's, Elizabethtown; in 1814 Bishop White confirmed 36 in St. Mary's, Burlington, and Bishop Hobart confirmed 42 in Trinity Church, Newark. This was a total of but 453 in thirty years.

Nevertheless, the diocesan convention of 1814, which had immediately preceded the convening of the General Convention, was the most hopeful of any which had hitherto met, and a seven page printed report on the state of the diocese presented to it was highly optimistic.

Conditions in Pennsylvania showed a decided improvement. There was an "increased attention to the concerns of the Church"; the diocesan "conventions had of late been well attended"; the clergy were more punctual in presenting their parochial reports; and the number of communicants throughout the state, and particularly in Philadelphia, had considerably increased. Within the past three years "exertions had been made for the establishment of an episcopal fund."

A society for the advancement of Christianity had been organized, and most of the vacant churches had been visited under its direction. Such societies were being organized in other dioceses. They were the

forerunners of our modern boards of diocesan missions, and educated dioceses in their responsibilities for missionary work and Church extension within diocesan boundaries.

Hobart was the apple of Bishop White's eye, Hobart revered his spiritual father, and each had a beneficial influence upon the other. White's moderation gave needed balance to Hobart's unbounded enthusiasm, and Hobart's example in visitations stimulated White to do likewise. The older White grew, the more aggressive he became in going about his diocese. During the preceding two years he had visited some of the country congregations. In 1811 he confirmed 61 persons; in 1812, 306; in 1813, 581. He had ordained five deacons and seven priests; but one of the former and five of the latter had been for other dioceses which had no bishop.

The state of the Church in Delaware was reported as "truly distressing, and the prospect gloomy." Of the eleven congregations only three were supplied by clergymen. Laymen conducted services in some of the vacant congregations, and there appeared to be an "increasing anxiety manifested for obtaining clergymen." "Zealous and pious ministers" were urgently needed.

The Church in Maryland still continued in a "state of depression." Here, too, the cry was for more "pious, enlightened, and zealous ministers." Many parishes were without ministers, and a considerable number of churches were in a "decayed condition." The Church in Maryland was in fact going through the painful process of learning voluntary support. It had been established in colonial days, and disestablished during the Revolutionary War. In Baltimore and Georgetown the lesson of voluntary support had been learned, the clergy were well supported, and the churches kept in good repair. But outside of those cities, the story was otherwise: the clergy were ill provided for, and they had to resort to other means to support their families, principally teaching. The pronounced irreligion and godlessness of the post-Revolutionary era was apparently on the wane, for the report stated that "prevailing vices have been checked, and greater attention to divine worship has appeared."

The report on Virginia opens in very gloomy fashion:

"The Church in this State has fallen into a deplorable condition; in many places her ministers have thrown off their sacred profession; her liturgy is either contemned or unknown, and her sanctuaries are desolate. It would rend any feeling heart to see spacious temples, venerable in their dilapidation and ruins, now the habitations of the wild beasts of the forest."

No doubt conditions were bad enough, but, as we have seen, revival was already under way. Before reformation can come, there must be conscious need of, and desire for, it; before revival can take place, there must be a realization that things are not as they should be. That this was the situation in Virginia the remainder of the report bears out.

"A ray of light breaks in upon the prospect. . . . Her members in Virginia have been taught, by a dreadful experience, the value of their peculiar institutions." The dispositions of the people were more favorable to the Church, and "some eminent laymen . . . have come forward with interest and zeal."

Monumental Church, Richmond, had been built upon the ashes of the theatre, which fire had a profound effect upon the city; and Richard Channing Moore was the rector of it. The cornerstone of a new church in Fredericksburg had been laid; in Leesburgh a church was about to be built; there were two "large and respectable congregations" in Alexandria; and the state of the Church in Frederick and Spotsylvania counties was improving.

In the South generally the revival of the Church began in South Carolina under the leadership of Theodore Dehon, who in 1812 was consecrated its second bishop after an interregnum of eleven years in the episcopate in that diocese.

"There is cause for rejoicing to the friends of the Church in this diocese. There is an evident revival of religion, and a visible growth in piety. . . . The Church in this State had sunk very low; but, through the blessing of the Almighty on the zealous exertions of the visible head [Dehon] of it, much has been done for its good, and more is to be confidently expected."

A society for the advancement of Christianity had been organized in South Carolina, and it had already established two congregations in Columbia and Camden, where the Episcopal Church had never before existed. This society was also distributing books about the Church, and was assisting a young man "of genius and piety," who was a candidate for the ministry.

In 1813 the bishop had made fourteen visitations and confirmed 516 persons. In all its history confirmation had never before been administered in that State. Bishop Smith, the first bishop, is not known to have confirmed a single person. Dehon had ordained two deacons, and there were two candidates for holy orders. South Carolina, also, was learning voluntary support. The various parishes were making exertions to provide for their ministers, and the clergy had determined

to supply vacant parishes as often as possible. A high degree of harmony and unity had been achieved in the diocese.

SOME THINGS ACCOMPLISHED

Growth in the Church's appreciation of the sacramental life was indicated by the adoption of a concurrent resolution, initiated in the House of Deputies, that at "the next General Convention, and all future conventions, the session shall be opened, in addition to the prayers and sermon usual on such occasions, with the celebration of the Lord's Supper."

The House of Bishops passed a resolution, concurred in by the deputies, ordering the reprinting of the journals of General Convention, "from the commencement of the said conventions," under the superintendence of the bishop of Pennsylvania, provided some bookseller could be found to assume the financial risk involved. This action was imperative, for, even in the knowledge of Bishop White, there was but one entire collection of the original journals from which reprints could be made.

As a result of this order, John Bioren, bookseller of Philadelphia, published in 1817 an octavo volume of nearly 400 pages, edited by Bishop White, in which were reprinted the General Convention journals of 1785-1814, inclusive; the canons of 1789-1814, with the constitution; and the pastorals of 1808, 1811, and 1814. It was known as Bioren's edition, and in a few years it, too, became a collector's item. By 1874, when William S. Perry reprinted the journals, 1785-1835, inclusive, Bioren's edition was almost as difficult to obtain as the originals.

Between the years 1749 and 1764, Benning Wentworth (1696-1770),³⁶ royal governor of New Hampshire and a loyal Anglican, granted 131 townships in what is now Vermont, in each of which he reserved 500 acres for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (the S. P. G.) and 500 acres additional for a glebe. Following the Revolutionary War, the state of Vermont, the Congregational Church, and squatters, claimed ownership. In quite a few instances, but by no means in all, the rights of the S. P. G. were maintained by churchmen through litigation. One of the arguments put forth by the claimants to the lands was that the Episcopal Church in America was not identical with the Church of England in the American colonies. According to Bishop White, "some leading characters of Virginia," on that ground, "had defended the act of the legislature of that state" which confiscated the Episcopal Church's glebes. To assist those battling for the Church's

³⁶For biographical sketch, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIX, pp. 653-654.

rights to these lands in Vermont, the convention adopted the following declaration, prepared by the House of Bishops:

"That 'The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America' is the same body heretofore known in these States, by the name of 'The Church of England'; the change of name, although not of religious principle in doctrine, or in worship, or in discipline, being induced by a characteristic of the Church of England, supposing the independence of the Christian Churches, under the different sovereignties, to which, respectively, their allegiance in civil concerns belongs. But that when the severance alluded to took place, and ever since, this Church conceives of herself, as professing and acting on the principles of the Church of England, is evident from the organization of our Conventions, and from their subsequent proceedings, as recorded on the Journals; to which, accordingly, this Convention refer for satisfaction in the premises. But it would be contrary to fact, were any one to infer, that the discipline exercised in this Church, or that any proceedings therein, are at all dependent on the will of the civil or of the ecclesiastical authority of any foreign country."

In the General Convention of 1811 the presiding bishop had been requested to write the S. P. G., suggesting that the care of the Vermont lands be invested in an American board of trustees, or in attorneys recommended by them. The delay in securing necessary documents and the war had prevented his doing so.

The end of the years' long battle was that in 1823 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the holding of the lands by the S. P. G. was not invalidated by political changes in the country, but the revenues must be devoted to Vermont purposes. Having established its rights to the lands in a number of places, the S. P. G. held them for more than a century for the diocese of Vermont through a board of land grants. The income enabled the diocese to elect its own bishop in 1832, and in 1928 the S. P. G. finally and formally transferred title to the diocese of Vermont. That diocese receives a not inconsiderable revenue from them at the present time.

To carry out the provisions of the first rubric before the prayer "for Christ's Church militant" in the Prayer Book, a canon was adopted declaring that the alms and contributions at the administration of the Holy Communion, then infrequently celebrated,

"Shall be deposited with the minister of the parish, or with such Church officer as shall be appointed by him, to be applied by the minister, or under his superintendence, to such pious and charitable uses as shall be thought fit."

This is substantially the present provision of Canon 44, Section 2(d), except that the alms and contributions thus to be used are restricted to those received "at the administration of the Holy Communion on one Sunday in each calendar month," and not at every such celebration as the canon of 1814 would imply.

It may surprise present day churchmen to know that the posture of sitting during the singing of the psalms and hymns in metre was the prevailing custom both in England and America during the 18th century. Bishop White stated that during 1771-1772, when he was in England, "he was not in any church wherein the people stood at the singing of the metre psalms"; nor did he remember having seen it fifteen years later when he returned to England for consecration. Yet by 1814 the posture of standing prevailed in London and elsewhere, and it was said "to have been introduced by the late excellent bishop of London—Dr. [Beilby] Porteus." The custom had traveled across the Atlantic and had been adopted by some congregations in this country. To put an end to the diversity of practice, the convention, on the initiative of the House of Bishops, recommended the "more comely posture of standing."

The Rev. Dr. William Smith (c. 1754-1821) of Connecticut, not to be confused with his uncle of the same name (1727-1803) of Pennsylvania and Maryland, memorialized the House of Bishops to authorize "as parts of the liturgy" "sundry anthems selected from Holy Scripture, and adapted to certain Fasts and Feasts of the Church."³⁷ That house took certain negative actions which have more or less been established as precedents: (1) They would not "go into a review, either in whole or in part, of the Book of Common Prayer," in response to individual petitions; (2) it was the unanimous opinion of the bishops that no sanction of the convention should be given to the work of any individual, "however tending to religious instruction, or to the excitement of pious affections."

They did, however, concede that "anthems taken from Scripture, and judiciously arranged, may, according to the known allowance of this Church, be sung in congregations at the discretion of their respective ministers."

The bishops received the thanks of the House of Deputies "for the course adopted" in this matter.

Considerable study was given by a joint committee of both houses to the question of a copyright for the Book of Common Prayer. The royalties from a copyright might be appropriated "to a purpose both

³⁷For Smith's musical ideas, see Edward N. West, "History and Development of Music in the American Church," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. XIV (1945), pp. 21-22.

religious and charitable," but the General Convention of 1789 had rejected such a proposal because it was a tax on a book which "it was a duty" for every member "to possess." A resolution was finally adopted referring the matter to the bishops for inquiry in their respective dioceses as to the sentiment of churchmen. Three years later, 1817, the House of Bishops recommended against copyrighting the Prayer Book. This precedent was followed by the General Convention of 1928, by which the last revision was completed.

Under the 29th canon of 1808, only instituted ministers were considered as regularly admitted and settled parochial ministers. Thus assistant ministers were excluded from voting for a bishop, and deacons from a seat and vote in diocesan conventions. It was amended in 1814 to allow diocesan canons concerning the status of such ministers to prevail.

The House of Bishops made certain declarations in interpretation of some of the canons:

(1) Concerning Canon 19 of 1808, respecting lay readers, doubts had arisen in certain areas over some of its provisions. To prevent congregations from assuming that lay readers were ordained ministers, the bishops considered it "as contrary to the design of the canon for candidates [for holy orders] to read sermons from the places usually considered as appropriated to ordained ministers, or to appear in bands, or gowns, or surplices."

(2) Under Canon 9 of 1808, "the bishop, with the advice and consent of all clerical members of the Standing Committee of his diocese," might "dispense with the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and other branches of learning not strictly ecclesiastical, in consideration of certain other qualifications in the candidate, peculiarly fitting him for the gospel ministry."

By express direction of their diocesan convention, the clerical deputies from Connecticut requested the opinions of the bishops concerning the meaning of the words, "in consideration of certain other qualifications in the candidate." Bishop White stated in his *Memoirs*³⁸ that this dispensation had been "misunderstood and abused" by the "notion" that "mere fluency of speech, evidently found in some very ignorant men, and even in some whose understandings are naturally weak," was sufficient. The bishops, therefore, sought to guard against the error by the following declaration:

"That if a candidate should possess extraordinary strength of natural understanding, a considerable extent of theological erudition, although not derived through the medium of the

³⁸De Costa edition, pp. 256-257.

original languages of Scripture, a peculiar aptitude to preach, and a large share of prudence, these qualifications may be a ground of the dispensation here referred to."

(3) Canon 40 of 1808 provided that "every minister of this Church shall . . . make out and continue a list of all adult persons within his cure." Only the names of persons who had been "baptized in this Church, or, who, having been otherwise baptized, shall have been received into this Church, either by the holy rite of Confirmation, or by receiving the Holy Communion, or by some other joint act of the parties and of a minister of this Church, whereby such persons shall have attached themselves to the same," should be placed on the list.

The Connecticut deputies requested the bishops' opinions on the meaning of the clause, "or by some other joint act of the parties and of a minister of this Church," considerable difficulty having arisen as to what might be called a "joint act." The bishops admitted that "it would perhaps be difficult to define the various ways in which the consent spoken of may be satisfactorily evidenced"; and Bishop White confessed "that this manifests an imperfect state of discipline." But their opinion was:

"That any person duly baptized in any religious society extraneous to this communion, joining himself to any congregation of this communion, and possessing an interest in its concerns, in consequence of express or implied permission, may be properly entered by the minister, on the list of the names of persons under his parochial cure."

They went on to say:

"But the bishops do not consider themselves as now called on to consider whether it may not be expedient to make provision for a more definite mode for the receiving into this Church of persons not baptized within its pale, but joining it on conviction and with fair characters."

This canon was first enacted in 1789 when the great majority of persons connected with the Church and receiving the Holy Communion had never been confirmed, owing to the fact that throughout the colonial period there were no bishops in America to administer confirmation. By 1832 this condition of affairs no longer existed, and the paragraph quoted above was stricken out as no longer needed. Any person baptized in another religious body, but joining this Church "on conviction," would, of course, be confirmed.

(4) Bishop White and Hobart had had some correspondence be-

fore the General Convention of 1814 convened concerning the two books of Homilies, referred to in the 35th of the Articles of Religion. The volume was very scarce in America, "rendering it difficult for some candidates in the ministry to possess opportunities of studying its contents." A resolution was, therefore, adopted, proposing to the House of Deputies—

"To make it a standing instruction to every Bishop, and to the ecclesiastical authority in every state destitute of a Bishop, to be furnished (as soon as may be) with a copy or copies of said work, and to require it to be studied by all candidates for the ministry within their respective bounds: Under the expectation that when offering for ordination the knowledge of its contents will be indispensably required."

The House of Deputies concurred, and an American edition of the Homilies was subsequently published. But the requirement of a knowledge of their contents by ordinands has long been a dead letter.

That part of the 45th Canon of 1808 which required that the parochial reports inserted in the journals of diocesan conventions should be read in the House of Deputies, which must have been a tedious business, was understandably repealed. But they did not repeal the required reading of episcopal addresses in the House of Deputies until 1820.

The ecclesiastical authority in the several dioceses was urged by resolution to make known in their congregations, "by such means as may be deemed expedient," the constitution and canons of the Church, and the proceedings of General Convention.

To expedite the preparation of the triennial report on the state of the Church, it was recommended that the ecclesiastical authority in each diocese prepare one dealing with that particular jurisdiction, previously to the meeting of each General Convention.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

With the revival of the Church and unceasing demands for well trained clergymen, the establishment of some institution of theological learning became increasingly imperative. The colleges were suspected of being centers of deism, and none was under the control of the Episcopal Church. Even the College of William and Mary, which was the only colonial establishment which had taught any Anglican theology in colonial times, was unsatisfactory to the Virginia Episcopalians as a center of theological training. The colonial custom of candidates for the ministry studying under some learned priest would no longer suffice.³⁹

³⁹See E. R. Hardy, Jr., "The Organization and Early Years of the General Theological Seminary," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. V, pp. 147ff.

The General Conventions of 1801 and 1804 had been concerned with the problem of theological education, and the latter convention had adopted a "Course of Ecclesiastical Studies,"⁴⁰ drawn up by Bishop White, together with a list of books suitable to the library of a parish minister, prepared by Bishop Beilby Porteus of London.

Bishop Dehon of South Carolina had become convinced of the necessity of a seminary, and he believed that there should be but one such institution for the whole Church, and that one was all which the resources of the Church then warranted. He was able to convince his diocese of this, and the South Carolina diocesan convention of 1814 instructed its deputies to propose the establishment of such an institution. Accordingly, on Friday, May 20, 1814, Gadsden moved the following:

"Resolved,—That with the consent of the House of Bishops, a joint committee of both houses be appointed to take into consideration the institution of a Theological Seminary, and if they should deem the same expedient, to report a plan for the raising of funds, and generally for the accomplishment of the object."

On Monday, May 23rd, this resolution was taken from the table, "and after some debate, it was moved and seconded to postpone the further consideration of the same." Only the clergy of Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the laity of Pennsylvania, voted to postpone, and the original motion, therefore, came up for vote. The clergy of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Virginia, and South Carolina, and the laity of Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Virginia, voted "Aye"; the clergy of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, and the laity of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, voted "No," with the laity of Maryland divided. The laity of Massachusetts, Delaware and South Carolina, were not represented during the voting. The resolution was, therefore, lost.

But Bishop Dehon was not to be diverted from his purpose. The next day, May 24th, the last day of the session, he proposed the following resolution in the House of Bishops:

"Resolved,—That it be referred to the Bishops; and, in those Dioceses in which there are no Bishops, to the Standing Committees therein, to inquire in the respective Dioceses or States, and to consider for themselves, concerning the expediency of establishing a Theological Seminary, to be conducted under the general authority of this Church; and to report to the next General Convention."

⁴⁰See Perry, *Journals*, I, 315-320.

Bishop White tells us that this resolution was "argued with much interest, although with the utmost moderation," between Dehon on the one side and Hobart on the other. The reason for Hobart's opposition was that he had a plan of his own for a regional seminary, which plan he had published eight days before the opening of General Convention. His plan proposed the establishment of a seminary whose president and vice-president would always be the bishops of New York and New Jersey, to be located in what is now Short Hills, New Jersey.

However, Dehon's resolution prevailed and was concurred in by the House of Deputies. It resulted in the establishment of the General Theological Seminary, the story of which must be sought elsewhere.⁴¹

MISSIONARY PROBLEMS

Since 1792 the missionary challenge of the frontier had been knocking at the door of General Convention. But the Church was too weak, and the recovery of lost ground in the older states too imperative, for any successful answer by General Convention to the challenge. The appeals for offerings for missionary work, which had been authorized in 1792, proved ineffectual; and a more effective method of recruiting and training the ministry had to be evolved.

In 1814 the Church had not more than 200 effective clergy all told. There were but 20 in the Eastern Diocese, of whom one was in Vermont, 5 in New Hampshire, 10 in Massachusetts, and 4 in Rhode Island. Connecticut had 34. New York, with 56, had more than all of New England combined. There were 9 in New Jersey; 22 in Pennsylvania; 2 in Delaware; and 25 in Maryland. Virginia made no report in 1814, but in 1817 listed 34. South Carolina had 18, of whom 4 had no cures. Assuming that Virginia had as many in 1814 as in 1817, which is by no means certain, there was a total of only 220 throughout the Episcopal Church. This number included some too old for active service and others incompetent or unwilling to hold cures. In 1817 Virginia listed one priest as 100 years old; in 1814 he was 97. Not more than 200 clergymen, if that many, were, therefore, available in 1814 to preach the gospel, conduct public worship, and administer the sacraments of the Episcopal Church. What a small army for so great a task!

Yet the Macedonian call of the frontier could not be silenced, and was heard in the General Convention of 1814. Individual clergymen had crossed the Alleghanies, and had founded congregations of the Episcopal Church. The evidence of this was shown in the person of Mr. John D. Clifford, vestryman of Christ Church, Lexington, Kentucky, who appeared in the House of Deputies with a certificate from the ves-

⁴¹See Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 150ff.

try of that congregation authorizing him "to represent the Church of that State in this Convention." Because the Church in Kentucky was not organized as a diocese and had not acceded to the constitution of the Church, Mr. Clifford was refused admission as a deputy, but was "allowed the privilege of an honorary seat."

The General Convention of 1811 had requested Bishops White and Madison "to devise means for supplying the congregations of this Church, west of the Alleghany mountains, with the ministration and worship of the same, and for organizing the Church in the Western States." This much action was in response to the appeals of the Rev. Joseph Doddridge and the handful of clergy in western Pennsylvania and western Virginia (now the State of West Virginia) for permission to organize a diocese. White had begun a correspondence with Madison on the subject when the latter's death, March 5, 1812, arrested all further progress. White had, however, proposed to his diocesan convention:

"That in the event of the settlement of a Bishop therein, the congregations in the Western counties of the State might be under his superintendence; on such a plan as would not affect the integrity of the Church, in the State of Pennsylvania, as a component member of the body of this Church throughout our union, in contrariety to the constitution."

The Pennsylvania convention had approved the proposal, but nothing of the sort was realized. The problem of supporting a bishop in that area was considered insoluble for the time being.

The only positive missionary action of the General Convention of 1814 was a gesture of good will concerning intra-diocesan missionary work, and only in its by-products did it have any effect on the missionary work in the new states and territories:

"Resolved,—That this Convention contemplate with much pleasure the rise and progress of institutions for the advancement of Christianity, in several of the dioceses of the United States, and that they recommend such institutions to the patronage of all friends of our Church."

CONCLUSION

In some of its actions the General Convention of 1814 had but a transitory influence; in others it has had effects reaching down to our own day. In some matters, such as the pressing problem of theological education and of missionary policy, it was but a stage in the crystallization of the mind of the Church. Judged by the standards of perfec-

tion, which we are too prone to apply to the Church's work and which do violence to a just appraisal of the historic processes, much was wanting and much was left undone.

But in the light of the preceding thirty years of paralyzing weakness, near unto annihilation, the General Convention of 1814 signalized the dawn of a new day, of a more promising future, which in some measure under the providence of God was to be realized. It ill behooves us, a century and a third later, to be caustic in our judgment of our spiritual forefathers. Faced in the mid-twentieth century, as we are, with a recrudescence of paganism and with instruments of world-shattering power, it better becomes us to pray for the lively faith and stout hearts of the five bishops, the twenty-eight clerical and twenty-one lay deputies, who represented the Church in the General Convention of 1814.

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Published by order of the House of Deputies. 1924. Edwin S. Gorham, New York. Before entering the ministry Dr. White was an attorney and counsellor-at-law. He was later chairman of the committee on canons of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

The Development of the Church's Constitution.

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1. Edgar Legare Pennington. *Colonial Clergy Conventions.*
2. Walter Herbert Stowe. *State or Diocesan Conventions of the War and Post-War Period.*
3. William Wilson Manross. *Interstate Meetings and General Conventions of 1784, 1785, 1786 and 1789.*
4. Percy Varney Norwood. *Constitutional Developments Since 1789.*

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NOTABLE CONVENTIONS

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1785-1789

E. Clowes Chorley. *The General Conventions of 1785, 1786(2), 1789(2).* Vol. 4, December, 1935. Pp. 246-266.

1814

Walter H. Stowe, *The General Convention of 1814.* (Current issue.)

1829

Journal to New York & to Philadelphia, to Attend the Gen'l. Conv. Pro. Ep. Church of 1829, as a Delegate from the State of Rhode Island. By Alexander Jones of Providence. Vol. 10, March, 1941. Pp. 13-29.

1832

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1835

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THE MISSIONARY MARCH OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1789-1835*

By E. Clowes Chorley

I. A CHURCH "APPROACHING ANNIHILATION"

"The congregations of our communion throughout the United States were approaching annihilation. Although within this city [Philadelphia] three Episcopal clergymen were resident and officiating, the churches over the rest of the State had been deprived of their clergy during the war, either by death or by departure for England. In the Eastern States, with two or three exceptions, there was a cessation of the exercises of the pulpit, owing to the necessary disuse of the prayers for the former civil rulers. In Maryland and Virginia, where the Church had enjoyed civil establishments, on the ceasing of these, the incumbents of the parishes, almost without exception, ceased to officiate†. Farther South the condition of the Church was not better, to say the least. . . ."—From Bishop William White's *Charge to the Clergy*, 1832.

*The basis of this work is a series of articles by the writer under the general title, "History of Missionary Work in the Church," published in *The Churchman*, July 2-August 13, 1921. They have been revised in the light of further research during the past twenty-five years.—*Author's note.*

†This statement of Bishop White concerning Virginia and Maryland, while generally current a hundred years ago has now been shown to be erroneous through the discovery of records not then available. These records show that more than fifty clergymen continued at work in the Church in Virginia through the Revolutionary period, keeping up the work as far as possible, and using the new "Prayer for the Magistrates of the Commonwealth" ordered by the State legislature for the established Church. The prostration of the Church in Virginia was fully as great as stated by Bishop White, but it came later, and for another reason.—*Editor's note.*

THIS description of the state of the Episcopal Church in the United States immediately following the Revolutionary War, given by the Presiding Bishop forty-five years after his own consecration to the episcopate, is a graphic explanation of the Church's slowness in assuming its missionary obligations. But there were still other conditions which need explanation if we are to understand the slow tempo of the beginnings of its missionary march.

Historians are generally agreed, not only that "the closing years of the eighteenth century show the lowest low-water mark of the lowest ebb-tide of spiritual life in the history of the American church,"¹ but also that "no one of the Christian organizations of America came out of the war in a more forlorn condition than the Episcopalians."²

There was no diocesan organization, no national organization, no bishop for continuing the ministry, and no union among the scattered Episcopal churches. In all of the colonies outside of Virginia and Maryland, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, commonly called the S. P. G., had largely established the Episcopal congregations, and partly supported most of the clergy for three-quarters of a century. In 1784, on the ground that the Society's charter prevented the support of the Church in any area not under the king's sovereignty, this support was totally withdrawn. Large numbers of the flower of the laity, as well as many of the clergy, moved to Canada, England, or elsewhere in the British empire. In the period of its greatest weakness, the Church in America was thrown entirely upon its own resources. In the midst of dire poverty, it had to learn the painful lesson of self-support.

The wonder is, not that it failed immediately to thrive, but that it survived at all. The wonder is that so many clergy and laymen of faith and courage were left to face the first imperative task: To save the Church from annihilation. This task was fourfold: to organize dioceses, to form a national constitution, to adapt the Prayer Book to changed political conditions, and to secure the episcopate.

In a period of five years, 1784-1789, all this was accomplished. The Connecticut clergy sent Samuel Seabury to England to secure consecration; in 1784 he was made a bishop in the Church of God, not in England, but by the bishops of the proscribed Scottish Episcopal Church in Aberdeen. Three years later, William White and Samuel Provoost were consecrated by the English bishops. In 1790, the consecration of James Madison of Virginia in London completed the American college in the English line. Between 1784 and 1786 several dioceses were organized. In the General Conventions of 1785, 1786

¹L. W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity* (New York, 1897), p. 230.

²*Ibid.*, p. 210.

and 1789, after acute differences of opinion which at one time threatened to disrupt the infant Church, the other items in the fourfold task were realized, and the unity of the Church was assured.³

SOME BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

Constitutionally and canonically the Church was equipped for its missionary work, but not otherwise. The years 1789-1811 have been described as the "period of suspended animation."⁴ Like all epigrams, this one is subject to serious qualification, and in some areas is definitely not true. It implies that the Church itself was responsible for prevailing conditions, over many of which, in fact, it had little or no control. The bishops who led the Church in the great awakening, which set in about 1811,—Hobart, Griswold, Dehon, R. C. Moore, Kemp, Croes, Bowen, and Chase,—were able and successful parish priests in this period of so-called "suspended animation." The animation may have been feeble, but it was not suspended. Some basic conditions must be considered to understand why the Church's feet were so leaden.

The population of the United States increased very rapidly between 1790 and 1830, doubling every 22 or 23 years—"a rate of increase almost unprecedented in the history of civilized man." From just under four millions in 1790, it rose to almost thirteen millions in 1830. But it remained overwhelmingly rural for fifty years. In 1790, it was 95 per cent rural, only 5 per cent urban;⁵ in 1800, it was 94 per cent rural, only 6 per cent urban. Not until 1840 was as much as 10 per cent of the total population urban. A century later, 1940, it was 43.5 per cent rural, and 56.5 per cent urban.

In 1790 only five cities in the entire United States had 8,000 or more inhabitants in each: New York, 33,131; Philadelphia, 28,522; Boston, 18,320; Charleston, South Carolina, 16,359, and Baltimore, 13,503.

In 1800 this number was still the same, although Baltimore had increased 96 per cent; New York, 82 per cent; Philadelphia, 44 per cent, and Boston, 36 per cent.

By 1810 seven cities had been added to the list, making twelve in all: New Orleans, as a result of the Louisiana Purchase, with 17,242 inhabitants; Albany, New York, 10,762; Providence, Rhode Island,

³For further information on this critical period, see E. C. Chorley, "The General Conventions of 1785, 1786, and 1789," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. IV (Dec., 1935), pp. 246-266; also, E. L. Pennington, W. H. Stowe, W. W. Manross, and P. V. Norwood, "The Development of the Church's Constitution," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VIII (Sept., 1939), pp. 177-303.

⁴C. C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.* (New York, 1895), p. 385.

⁵Urban population means those living in communities with 2,500 or more inhabitants, according to the definition applied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

10,071; Richmond, Virginia, 9,735; Norfolk, Virginia, 9,193; Brooklyn, New York, 8,303; and Washington, D. C., 8,208.

Here then we have one of the secrets of the Church's missionary feebleness before 1810, and of its increasing aggressiveness after that date. Only in the larger urban centers were there congregations with sufficient members and wealth to contribute the financial support necessary to missionary expansion.

Still another obstacle was the increasing illiteracy during the critical fourteen years, 1775-1789. The Revolutionary War was as disastrous to the schools and colleges as it was to the churches. Most of them were closed. Opportunities for schooling before 1775 were meagre enough; by 1790, except in a few cities in the New England area, they had shrunk almost to the vanishing point. The inevitable result was increasing illiteracy among the people. A church which laid stress upon the people's participation in public worship was under a serious handicap. People who cannot read do not like to expose their ignorance in public. Educational institutions were a long time recovering even their pre-war strength. The public school system of today was scarcely dreamed of before 1825, and did not become fairly general until 1850.

Moreover, the Episcopal Church stood for a learned ministry. But it did not have a single theological seminary until after 1817; it did not have a single college under its control until after 1820. The recruiting of its ministry was thus doubly difficult: it had no educational opportunities to offer candidates for the ministry; it could promise but a precarious living to those who finally met its educational requirements. Many of the clergy had to eke out a living by conducting schools or by tutoring.

The prevailing poverty, in both educational and ecclesiastical circles, is strikingly illustrated in the case of Queen's College (now Rutgers University) and of Christ Church, both in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The college, under the control of the Dutch Reformed Church, had had to close during the war. By 1800 it had not been able to open, and the trustees were having difficulty keeping open the preparatory school. Likewise, Christ Church was too poor to have a settled rector. The trustees of the college and the vestry of the parish joined forces and issued a joint call to the Rev. John Croes, rector of the Episcopal Church in Swedesborough, New Jersey, to be headmaster of the preparatory school and rector of the parish. In 1801 he accepted; in both positions he was highly successful. Under him the school "was strong, efficient, well attended," and "gained a national reputation." When in 1808 he gave up the school because of the strain on his health and increasing church responsibilities, it had seventy pupils.⁶ The school's

⁶W. H. S. Demarest, *A History of Rutgers College, 1766-1924* (New Brunswick, 1924), pp. 189-196.

success led to the re-opening of the college. In 1815 Dr. Croes became the first bishop of New Jersey, but the diocese was so poor that he had to retain his rectorship of Christ Church as the major source of his livelihood until his death in 1832.

The Church was profoundly affected by the spirit of the times. Politically, it was a time of transition marked by bitter strife. Men did not discriminate between liberty and license. Federalists and anti-Federalists were at dagger's points. The absorbingly keen interest in politics thrust religion into the background; it was a side issue. The polished skepticism of Thomas Jefferson and the blatant infidelity of Thomas Paine had far-reaching influence. Reason ran riot. The Church was discredited. Her close connection with the Church of England had neither been forgotten nor forgiven by American patriots. Men doubted her loyalty to the basic principles of the Revolution, and they profoundly distrusted the episcopate as undemocratic.

Against these hostile forces was a Church few in numbers, fearful of aggression, and still on the defensive. Naturally, it made little headway. In some places it did not hold its own. Virginia, once the pride and glory of the establishment, was not content to disestablish the Church; the glebes, lands given for the support of the Church's ministers, were confiscated by the state. Many of its parishes were so impoverished as to be ineffective. The bishop, bound by his duties as president of the College of William and Mary, rarely exercised his episcopal functions. In Maryland and Delaware more than half the parishes were vacant, and the remainder were engaged in a life and death struggle for existence.

North Carolina held no diocesan convention until 1793, and that was fruitless. It was not effectively organized until 1817. Conditions were described "as deplorable from the paucity of clergymen, and the multiplicity of sectarians." South Carolina permitted eleven years to elapse between the death of her first bishop in 1801 and the consecration of the second in 1812. Georgia did not become a diocese until 1823, and had no bishop until 1841.

In Pennsylvania the Church hardly existed outside Philadelphia. Although New Jersey had organized as a diocese in 1785, it did not have a bishop for thirty years thereafter. There were but two clergymen in Rhode Island, and not many more in Massachusetts. The latter had no deputies in the General Conventions of 1792 and 1795.

Connecticut and New York were the only bright spots, relatively speaking, "amid the encircling gloom." In the former a loyal band of clergy and laity rallied around Bishop Seabury. The training of the clergy was a pressing problem. The Congregationalist "standing order" was still powerful enough to prevent the granting of a college charter to

the Episcopalians. But churchmen finally succeeded in establishing the Episcopal Academy in 1794 at Cheshire, and this institution trained several able clergymen for Connecticut and for the missionary frontiers in upstate New York and Ohio. Connecticut, for several years after 1789, was the strongest diocese in the Church.

In New York the recovery of the Church got under way earlier than in other dioceses by a very fortunate circumstance. Provoost was far from being an ideal bishop, but it is largely to his credit that the legislature failed in its attempt to confiscate the property of Trinity Church, New York City. Its large revenues were generously used for the expansion of the Church both in the city and upstate. As early as 1796 the diocesan convention organized a committee for propagating the Gospel in the state of New York, and almost immediately sent out itinerant missionaries. In 1802 the Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning was founded with the twofold object of supporting missions and contributing to the work of theological education. This was followed by the organization of other societies for promoting various phases of the Church's work. Very early laymen of conviction were moving from Connecticut into upstate New York and organizing parishes. In several instances the priest never appeared until he was sent for. By the opening of the nineteenth century New York was leading the whole Church in its recovery from the havoc of war.

II. THE MISSIONARY IDEA

IN spite of this arrested development, the Church faced the task of missionary work and organization. The General Convention of 1792, attended by four bishops—Seabury, White, Provoost, and Madison—met in New York, and during its sessions Thomas J. Claggett was consecrated bishop of Maryland, this being the first consecration of a bishop on American soil. On the seventh day of the session a joint committee was appointed to prepare "a plan of supporting missionaries to preach the Gospel on the frontiers of the United States." The report, subsequently adopted, provided for a standing committee of the convention, charged with the oversight and direction of missionary work, and of that committee Bishop White was the head. Provision was made for the appointment of a secretary and a treasurer, and an annual collection was directed to be made in all parishes on the second Sunday in December, at which time the clergy were required to preach a missionary sermon. When sufficient funds were gathered, the standing committee was authorized to employ missionaries and to report their proceedings to the General Convention.

This committee was ordered to prepare an address to the members of the Church, which address was to be read by the ministers of the

Church on the day appointed for the collection. It is one of the best statements of missionary motive and policy to be found anywhere, and shows that the leaders of the Church were clearly aware of its missionary obligations.

After reviewing the labors of previous conventions which resulted in the union of the Church, the securing of the episcopate, and the revision of the Prayer Book, the address points out that the objective of "so good a system" is an "evangelical profession of Religion" and "holiness of heart and life; an effect which may be looked for, wherever provision has been made for the stated preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments." But there were many persons "on the extensive frontier of the United States who, having been educated in the faith and worship of our Church, wish to have the benefits of its ministry"; but they cannot unless helped by their richer brethren who do have them.

It recognizes the "duty, incumbent on every branch of the Christian Church, not to neglect, as far as opportunity shall offer the publishing of the glad tidings of salvation, even to heathen nations." Every member of "our Communion" must desire that "something be attempted by us, in due time . . . for the conversion of our Indian neighbours, notwithstanding former disappointments and discouragements."

"But if this be a duty, how much more so is the extending of aid to those who are of one Faith and one Baptism with ourselves; but who, from unavoidable causes, are without those means of public worship which the Divine Author of our religion has accommodated to the wants and weaknesses of human nature; and which He saw to be, on those accounts, necessary for upholding the profession of His name."

The address contains a salutary warning:

"The promise of Christ to be with His Church to the end of the world, will never fail; and yet particular branches of the Universal Church may either flourish or decline, in proportion to their continuing in a pure profession and suitable practice on the one hand, and their falling into error, or indifference and unholy living, on the other. However prosperous, therefore, the beginning of our Church in this new world, she will have little reason to look for a continuance of the Divine Blessing, if, when she contemplates so many members of her communion 'scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd,' she does not use her diligence to bring them within Christ's Fold, and to secure to them a stated administration of the ordinances of His religion."

The address ends with a reminder of what the Church of England had done for the Church in the colonies. "The example is what we ought, in reason, to imitate;" and in helping to make good Christians, they will be helping to make good citizens.

For some unknown reason the General Convention of 1795 remitted the whole responsibility for missionary work to the several diocesan conventions, and the matter was not again considered until 1808.

THE GREAT MIGRATION

Yet the fields were white unto harvest and the need for corporate action was imperative. The settlement of the West, which began before the end of the War of Independence, was one of the greatest migrations of history. By 1790, 200,000 people were living west of the eastern mountains.

From 1790 to 1808, because of hard times in the South, the heaviest emigration was from Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, into Kentucky and Tennessee. The former was admitted into the Union as a state in 1792; the latter, in 1796.

In the North, western New York and Ohio were frontiers for the surplus populations of New England. Slower to get under way than in the South because of better times, this northern migration reached flood proportions with the passage of the Embargo act of 1808, and continued with little interruption until 1820. Pennsylvania and New York were the only two of the original thirteen states which profited immediately from this great movement. New York's population quadrupled between 1790 and 1820. Pennsylvania did not maintain this rate, but its population doubled between 1790 and 1810. Ohio became a state in 1802; by 1810 it had 230,000 inhabitants; by 1820, 580,000.

Ironically, the Episcopal Church made its greatest gains among the predominantly Puritan stock, traditionally hostile to the Church, which poured into western New York and Ohio from New England. Its greatest losses were among the Church of England stock which moved out of the tidewater states of the South into Kentucky and Tennessee. One who lived among them said:

"They still retain the Prayer Book as a venerable relic of antiquity; they still have a reverence for Baptism and the Lord's Day. The Church, they say, was pure and good, but now it has fallen, and they fear will never be revived again."

The reason for this paradox is that New York of all the dioceses was in some measure organized, and had the financial resources, to pursue a relatively vigorous missionary program. Connecticut churchmen,

pushing on into Ohio, were soon followed by several clergymen ordained in the former diocese.

In the South, on the other hand, as we have seen, the Church was prostrated for two decades and more: until after 1810 in South Carolina and Virginia; until after 1817 in North Carolina. Recovery in the South came too late to meet the challenge of the great migration. In the frontiers along the Ohio River the Church did not penetrate until 1790, and then only casually.

The first church west of the Alleghanies was begun in 1790. Pittsburgh had no church services before 1793, and four years later established its first parish. In 1793 the Rev. Joseph Doddridge, formerly a Methodist minister under Francis Asbury, preached in West Virginia, and shortly afterwards crossed the Ohio River and held the first Church services in the log courthouse at Steubenville, Ohio. And so the story runs—doors wide open; the Church in her corporate capacity doing nothing, but here and there an individual clergyman embarking on an adventure for God and penetrating into the waste places of Zion, finding his support in teaching school.

THE IMPOTENCE OF GENERAL CONVENTION

The General Convention which met in Baltimore in 1808 was remarkable for the slim attendance of both lay and clerical delegates and of bishops. In the House of Deputies only seven states were represented and of the members of the House of Bishops only White and Claggett were present, and they held their sessions in the rectory of St. Paul's Church. The situation was so serious that a solemn and affectionate address was issued urging the churches to send delegates and a respectful appeal was made "to every bishop of this Church" on the subject of his attendance. This was the first pastoral address.

Depleted as it was, the convention addressed itself seriously to the problem of the frontier. Dioceses organized, but not in union with the convention, were invited to accede to the constitution of the Church. States and territories where no organization had been effected, were urged to proceed without delay. The convention was keenly alive to the necessity of providing bishops for the new settlements, but quite uncertain as to how to proceed. The Church was still thinking in terms of the state as a unit and was disposed to wait until the state conventions, as they were then called, could organize and elect their own bishops. A joint committee, however, was appointed to "determine on the proper mode of sending a bishop into said states and territories; and, in case of a reasonable prospect of accomplishing this object, to elect a person to such episcopacy with the approval of the Standing Com-

mittees of the Church." This was a step forward; the first move towards the election of missionary bishops which was finally accomplished in 1835.

The aforesaid resolution was communicated to the Church at large in a pastoral letter written by Bishop White. Its style was ponderous, but on the question of missions quite definite :

"During the present session our minds have been much impressed by a sense of what is due from us to our western brethren, and especially to those of them professing themselves of our own Communion. We wish to extend to them the episcopacy and the celebration of the worship of this Church; and we invite all our brethren now addressed to aid us in the accomplishment of these objects. And, until it shall be found practicable to avail ourselves of any opportunities occurring to encourage the settlement of suitable ministers of this Church, who may be disposed to remove from the older states, into that vast field of labor.

"And we further invite ministers and other members of our Communion who may be already in those districts, to aid us in carrying our purposes into effect; and in the meantime, if it be practicable, to make such internal organizations as may conduce to it."

Unfortunately, nothing came of this plan. The committee found it impossible to find a suitable person for a missionary bishop, and had they succeeded they had no funds.

In 1810 a few clergymen in western Virginia (now West Virginia) and the western part of Pennsylvania met in conference and directed the Rev. Joseph Doddridge to correspond with Bishop White, with a view to obtaining permission to organize a convention, regardless of state boundaries, in order that they might secure the episcopate. In consequence of this communication, the matter of missionary bishops came before the General Convention of 1811 with added urgency. After much consideration, Bishops White and Madison, in whose dioceses the frontiers were situated, were directed to mature plans for the organization of the Church in the western states. The death of Madison, one year later, put a summary end to the project. Communications were difficult in those days and no official answer was sent to Mr. Doddridge. Eighteen months later he heard by accident of the fate of his petition. The effect on the struggling Church in the west was most disastrous. The vestries were not re-elected, the young people joined other societies. Doddridge wrote Bishop White: "How often have these people said to me in the bitterness of their hearts: 'Must we live and die without baptism for our children, and without the Sacrament for ourselves?' . . . I kept my station, cheerless as it was, without hope of doing anything beyond keeping together a few of my parishioners during my own

lifetime, after which, as I supposed, they and their descendants must attach themselves to such societies as they might think best." And he adds:

"How often, during these years of hopeless despondency and discouragement have I said to myself: 'Is there not a single clergyman of my profession, of a zealous and faithful spirit, who would accept the holy and honorable office of a *chorea episcopus* for my country, and find his reward in the exalted pleasures of an approving conscience in gathering in the lost sheep of our Israel and planting churches in this new world? Is there not one of our bishops possessed of zeal and hardihood enough to induce him to cross the Alleghany Mountains and engage in this laudable work?' How often have I reflected, with feelings of the deepest regret and sorrow, that if anything like an equal number of professors of any other Christian community had been located in Siberia, or India, and, equally dependent on a supreme ecclesiastical authority at home, that a request so reasonable would have met with a prompt and cheerful compliance."

At the General Convention of 1814 Mr. John D. Clifford "presented a certificate, signed by the clerk of the vestry of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Lexington, in the State of Kentucky," authorizing him to represent the Church in that state. Inasmuch as no diocesan organization had been effected, he could only be allowed an honorary seat. Three years later, at the General Convention of 1817, the Church in the West was much in evidence. It was reported that there were nineteen organized parishes in Ohio, and that a flourishing congregation existed at Lexington, in Kentucky. For the first time the "western states" were recognized in the report on the state of the Church. The deputies submitted the facts to the House of Bishops and solicited their counsel and prayers. The bishops responded by urging the congregations in the various states to adopt measures for sending missionaries "to our destitute brethren in the western states." That was all.

Little wonder that the destitute brethren, tired of waiting, took matters into their own hands. Before the next General Convention the problem of episcopal supervision had solved itself. On June 13, 1818, the primary convention of Ohio met with an attendance of four clergymen, and laymen representing ten parishes. They promptly elected Philander Chase as first bishop of Ohio, and he was consecrated in Philadelphia, February 11, 1819. He found himself head of a diocese vast in extent, without any salary and with five clergymen. Leaving

his farm—his only means of livelihood—in the care of a hired man, Chase mounted his horse and went out to shepherd the flock scattered in the wilderness. Bishop Chase's adventures; his founding of Kenyon College; his settlement in the woods of Michigan; and his subsequent election as the first bishop of Illinois, are classics in the annals of the early American Church.

III. THE GREAT AWAKENING

WHEN William Meade was ordained in Virginia in 1811 there were seventeen in the congregation, and the utmost surprise was expressed that a gentleman of good birth and education should think of entering the ministry. The students of William and Mary College gravely discussed the question as to whether there were a God, and, for the most part, with equal gravity decided in the negative.

But the same year witnessed the consecration of two men to the episcopate—John Henry Hobart, of New York, and Alexander Viets Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese—who were destined to be powerful instruments in the awakening of the Church. Three years later they were joined by Richard Channing Moore, who succeeded Madison as bishop of Virginia.

Griswold and Hobart presented a striking contrast. The one began life as a plain New England farmer; the other was of gentle birth and a graduate of Princeton College. Ecclesiastically, they represented the two emerging Church parties of their day. Griswold, to the end of his long and honored life, was an old-fashioned evangelical. He had been born again in a revival in his own parish at Bristol, Rhode Island. The burden of his preaching was "that Jesus Christ is the Lord our Righteousness, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, and that eternal salvation is to be obtained through His merits." This gospel he preached throughout a laborious episcopate of thirty-two years. His diocese included the whole of New England, outside Connecticut. It was unfavorable soil for the Church. Puritanism had a name to live, but was well-nigh dead. Nevertheless, his simplicity of life and saintliness of character gradually overcame inherited prejudice. He began his work in the five states with twenty-two parishes and sixteen clergymen; at his death the parishes had multiplied fivefold, and each state was able to stand alone.

Hobart was reared in Christ Church, Philadelphia under the influence of Bishop White. He was by nature and grace aggressive. In a day when churchmen apologized for their existence, he boldly asserted the

historic character of the Church and the divine authority for her ministry and sacraments. But most of all he was vitally interested in the extension of the Church both in his own diocese and beyond it. Twice he visited Michigan, and he consecrated the first church in Detroit. Under his inspiring leadership the work in the diocese of New York increased by leaps and bounds. Missionaries went through the northern and western parts of the state preaching, administering the sacraments, building churches and organizing new parishes, and Hobart followed in their train, confirming the faithful and impressing all with his single-hearted devotion.

The Church's revival in the South owes a good deal to several leaders born in the North. It began in South Carolina under Theodore Dehon, a Bostonian and a graduate of Harvard. In 1810 he accepted the rectorship of St. Michael's Church, Charleston. South Carolina had had no bishop since the death of Robert Smith in 1801. Dehon's episcopate, 1812-1817, was short but brilliant. He was the first bishop to visit Georgia, where the memory of Whitefield was still green, and there he consecrated Christ Church, Savannah, and confirmed sixty persons.

The diocesan convention of 1814, which elected Richard Channing Moore as bishop of Virginia, was attended by only seven clergymen and eighteen laymen. His coming to Virginia from New York, as rector of Monumental Church, Richmond, had been engineered by certain young "reformers," of whom William H. Wilmer and William Meade were the chief. The election was a venture of faith, but they builded wiser than they knew. Channing Moore was an ardent evangelical and a preacher of commanding power. He went through eastern Virginia like a flame of fire. Dry bones came to life. Dead parishes were revived; discipline was restored; and the years that the locusts had eaten were restored.

The awakening spread. In 1815, at long last, New Jersey elected her first bishop. Four years later Connecticut aroused herself to fill a vacancy in her episcopate which had lasted for six years by electing Thomas Church Brownell, a recent convert to the Church.

The diocese of North Carolina was organized in 1817 and six years later elected John Stark Ravenscroft as her first bishop. Ravenscroft had a remarkable career. For eighteen years he never opened his Bible. His besetting sins were "an impatient and passionate temper, with a most sinful habit of profane swearing." Riding on his estate he was convinced of sin, and later became a lay preacher in an obscure denomination. He was ordained by Bishop Moore at the mature age of forty-five. His episcopate was brief—seven years—but it left an indelible mark on the diocese.

THE NEED OF LENGTHENING THE CORDS

So the Church strengthened her stakes in the older states. But there remained the duty of lengthening her cords and enlarging the place of her tent. She was facing the years of territorial expansion which came with bewildering rapidity. By means of the Louisiana Purchase, Thomas Jefferson extended the boundaries of the United States from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, and Florida was acquired in 1819.

All this meant new fields for the Church to conquer. Many of the settlers in these new regions were either churchmen or descendants of churchmen, and the lack of corporate action by the Church involved the loss of thousands of potential communicants. A little was done, not by the Church as a corporate body, but by the heroic efforts and tireless devotion of individual missionaries who ventured into the wilderness, not at the bidding of bishops, but for love of men. If the leaders of the Church were alive to the situation, they seemed unable to devise means to cope with it. The experience of the colonial Church in its repeated failure to obtain the episcopate from England, was duplicated in the United States between 1800 and 1835. Even western Pennsylvania and western Virginia, parts of established dioceses, were left severely alone. Bishop White never crossed the Alleghanies until 1823, and there is no recorded visitation to western Virginia (now West Virginia). All the bishops were rectors of parishes or heads of colleges, and these came first. Bishop White went so far as to protest against the demand for frequent episcopal visitations, on the ground that it was inconsistent with a learned episcopate.

The newer parts of the country were worse off. They had no territorial claim upon any bishop. All that the General Convention did was to urge them to organize a diocese and elect a bishop. This they could not canonically do. Canon two declared that before electing a bishop a diocese must have six resident presbyters and six or more organized parishes. In the newer states and territories, as well as in older states like Georgia and North Carolina, this provision could not be met, and had it been canonically possible, they were too poor to support a bishop.

Nowadays, such a situation is met by the Church's sending a missionary bishop, but then such a step would have been revolutionary. The fundamental principle of the constitution adopted in 1789 was the absolute independence of the Church in each state. On no other basis would union have been possible. In the older states the Church was organized before the General Convention, and in adhering to the constitution the Church in each state was careful to assert and retain

its own sovereign rights. Maryland is typical. In setting forth a statement of her Fundamental Rights and Liberties, she put in the forefront the right to complete and preserve herself, with free exercise of spiritual powers, independent of foreign or other jurisdiction.

The General Convention perforce recognized these sovereign rights. The basic theory was a bishop in each state, elected by the state. It is noteworthy that the word "diocese" does not appear in the official records of General Convention until 1838, when a reluctant consent was given to divide the diocese of New York. Bishops were not sent into new territories, because such action would be an unwarrantable interference with the sovereign rights of the Church in that state. As Bishop George Washington Doane once wrote:

"Hitherto she had worked to disadvantage in sending out and sustaining, in her missionary field, deacons and presbyters without the benefit of episcopal influence and episcopal supervision. Her flocks were thus without a shepherd. And she stood before the world, so far as she was a missionary church, an anomaly, a self-contradiction; professing to do nothing without a bishop and yet planting churches everywhere which owed allegiance to no bishop."

But many influences were at work to effect a fundamental change. The Church was about to arise and enlarge the sphere of her work.

IV. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1821

THE persistent pleadings of the Church in the western states, and the organization of the diocese of Ohio, had the effect of awakening the Church in the older states to the necessity of some ordered provision for the prosecution of missionary work.

In 1814 Bishop Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese, which included Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont and Maine, delivered a charge to his clergy on the missionary duty of the Church. This, together with a pastoral letter, was published the following year. In the latter year the secretary of the English Church Missionary Society addressed a circular letter to "several of the leading members of the Episcopal Church in the United States" on the work of missions. In reply thereto Bishop Griswold sent a copy of his charge and pastoral letter, both of which were published in the *London Missionary Register* for 1816. Later in the year the bishop wrote Mr. Pratt, secretary of the society, suggesting the appointment of the Rev. Joseph R. Andrus,*

*Mr. Andrus went to Africa in 1821 as an agent for the American Colonization Society and died there the following year.

a clergyman of the Eastern Diocese, as a missionary to Ceylon. The authorities of the Church Missionary Society expressed their willingness to make the appointment, but took the opportunity to suggest the formation of a missionary society in the American Church "which, however small in its beginnings, might ultimately so increase as to produce the most extensive good." Mr. Pratt went on to say:

"Should the formation of an American Episcopal Missionary Society be accomplished, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society authorizes you to draw upon me for the sum of two hundred pounds to encourage the contributions of the friends of the Episcopal Church and of Christianity at large. In this case Mr. Andrus had better be sent to Ceylon under the proposed society, and be instructed to cooperate with such of our missionaries as may be fixed in that island."

The suggestion fell on fertile soil. The way had been prepared by the formation of a few diocesan missionary societies. As far back as 1796, New York had appointed a committee for "Propagating the Gospel in the State of New York." In 1816 Pennsylvania organized two societies: one for work within the state, and the other expressly for missions beyond its own borders. Under the auspices of the latter, a clergyman was sent to Ohio and visited some parts of Kentucky and Tennessee. Those who were interested soon realized the necessity for work on a larger scale. The Pennsylvania Society, therefore, appointed a committee to draft a scheme for a general organization. That report was published early in 1820 under the title:

"Report of a committee appointed by the managers of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society of Pennsylvania on the subject of a General Missionary Society for Foreign and Domestic Missions; which will be proposed for the consideration of the next General Convention, to sit in this city (Philadelphia) on the 16th of May next."

Although not signed, the report was prepared by the Rev. Jackson Kemper, afterwards the first missionary bishop of the American Church; George Boyd, later first secretary of the Board of Missions; and William A. Muhlenberg, then rector of St. James' Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The committee reported strongly in favor of a general society. "We cannot see," they wrote, "the American Episcopal Church indifferent in this great enterprise, without painful and boding regret." Two fields of service were indicated: "Those parts of our own country where the means of grace are not enjoyed, and the pagan nations scat-

tered over a large proportion of the Eastern Continent." Thus was the way paved, after so many distressing delays, for the creation of a great missionary society.

The General Convention met in Philadelphia on May 16, 1820. Eight bishops were in attendance and the House of Deputies numbered thirty-six clerical and twenty-seven lay deputies, representing fourteen dioceses. On the third day of the session, the Rev. George Boyd, a deputy from Pennsylvania, "offered for consideration a preamble and resolutions on the subject of a missionary society." The matter was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Boyd, the Rev. John P. K. Henshaw, afterwards bishop of Rhode Island, and Messrs. Duncan Cameron, of North Carolina, and Francis Scott Key, of Maryland, author of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Matters of commanding interest were before the convention, including the removal of the Theological Seminary from New Haven to New York, and the report of the committee was not considered until the last day of meeting. On that day, however, with considerable haste, a constitution of a missionary society was adopted by both houses, the title of the organization being "The Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society in the United States for Foreign and Domestic Missions."

The management was to be vested in a board of twenty-four members, half of whom were to be residents in or near Philadelphia. The cost of membership was fixed at \$3; of patrons, \$50 or upward. Contributions might be designated for either domestic or foreign missions. Auxiliary societies were to be formed in the various states "to secure patronage, and to enlarge the funds of the institution." Added to the constitution was this touching note:

"It is recommended to every member of this society, to pray to Almighty God for His blessing upon its designs, under the full conviction that unless He directs us in all our doings with His most gracious favor, and furthers us with His continual help, we cannot reasonably hope, either to procure suitable persons to act as missionaries, or expect that their endeavors will be crowned with success."

The board of directors at once issued an address to the Church at large, soliciting funds for the work. No sooner had this address been issued than it was discovered that unintended defects in the constitution of the society made a suspension of operations necessary. That defect, as Bishop White records, placed the new organization under the grave suspicion of being "an intended engine against the institutions of the Church." In the haste of drafting the constitution, no provision had been made for the bishops to vote for the trustees of the society; they

were not eligible for seats on the board; and, if in attendance, could neither speak nor vote. Hence, "the gentlemen named as managers found themselves incompetent to the purpose of the appointment."

Under ordinary circumstances, the work would have been arrested for three years, but, fortunately, the affairs of the General Theological Seminary demanded the calling of a special General Convention in 1821. At this meeting the necessary amendments to the constitution of the society were adopted and the title was amended to read:

"The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the
Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

Membership included all the bishops and all the members of the House of Deputies; subscribers of \$3 annually, and life members based upon a contribution of \$30 or more. The provision that half the managers should live in or near Philadelphia was eliminated, though the annual meeting was to be held in that city, save when the General Convention met elsewhere. It also provided that twenty per cent of all contributions should be invested in a permanent fund. Notice of the formation of the society was sent to England, and the Church Missionary Society responded with the gift of £200 promised to Bishop Griswold in 1816.

The Board of Directors met in the vestry room of St. James' Church, Philadelphia, on the third Wednesday in November, 1821, and proceeded to organize the society. Bishop White was elected president, and the vice-presidents included all the remaining bishops—Hobart, Griswold, Richard Channing Moore, James Kemp, Croes, of New Jersey; Bowen, of South Carolina; Philander Chase, Brownell, and Ravenscroft, of North Carolina. The Rev. George Boyd and Samuel J. Robbins were appointed secretaries, and twenty-four directors were chosen. They represented fourteen states and included such patrons as are found in the names of the Rev. Messrs. Jackson Kemper, John P. K. Henshaw, William Richmond, and James Milnor, together with such laymen as John Jay, of New York, and Francis Scott Key, of Maryland. Evangelicals and high churchmen were equally represented and dwelt together in unity.

So, in the good providence of God, it came to pass that after nearly thirty years of effort, the Church had her own missionary society; and it entered upon its labors, followed by the interest and prayers of the Church both in the United States and in England.

V. MACHINERY AND METHODS

THE newly elected board of directors of the society found themselves confronted by a most difficult task. From all parts of the rapidly growing western states and territories came the imperious plea for missionaries to labor in fields already white unto harvest, and there was a strong sentiment in the Church for the immediate dispatch of missionaries to the west coast of Africa where the Liberian Republic had been established for negroes from the United States. But the directors had neither missionaries nor means to send them. The Church had not completely recovered from the lethargy of past years, but there was the sound of the wind in the tops of the mulberry trees. Griswold was steadily pursuing his apostolic labors amid the hills and dales of New England, and steadily holding aloft the call to missionary work; Hobart was flinging far his banner—inscribed “Evangelical Truth” and “Apostolic Order”—and revolutionizing the Church in the great state of New York; Philander Chase was exploring every corner of Ohio, and Richard Channing Moore, with his flaming evangelism and silver-tongued eloquence, was moving Virginia throughout its older counties. The Church was ready to lengthen her cords as well as strengthen her stakes.

The first task of the board was to get in touch with the whole membership of the Church and enlist its sympathy and support. It was not easy. Postal arrangements were slow and costly. Traveling was often dangerous and always expensive; the telegraph was unborn. The outstanding figure in the Church was the presiding bishop, William White, who made up for lack of aggression by his great wisdom in counsel. As president of the newly formed board he issued a letter dated February 16, 1822, with the title page reading:

“The Address of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to the Members of Said Church.”

After a masterly review of the state of the Church at the close of the War of the Revolution, when “the far greater number of our congregations were destitute of pastors; and, indeed, in a state approaching annihilation,” he gratefully acknowledged the “gradual revival of the administration of the ordinances,” but laid stress upon the fact that there were still large numbers of the faithful without an Episcopal ministry, and who could not be reached save by missionary agencies.

"It adds immensely to the necessity of the present call on your beneficence, that while the active members of our Church have been occupied in repairing the decayed ways and renewing the dilapidated buildings of our Zion, new prospects have been opening on them westward in immense territories, in which the Church is to be reared, if at all, from its foundations. It has been distressing to the hearts of those prominent in our ecclesiastical concerns, that for some years past they have received continued and earnest requests for ministerial supplies, which there were no means of meeting. Some aid has been afforded. It has been very small; but the thankfulness with which it was received . . . presents pleasing presages of what may be expected from the combined efforts of our Church throughout the Union, prudently directed, and sustained by the liberality of its members generally."

He appealed to the good work done in this country by the Church of England through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

"We stand in relation to our brethren in the new states not unlike to that which before the Revolution the Episcopal population in the Atlantic provinces stood to the parent Church in England. Then she extended her fostering care to her sons, and organized a society in which the prelates took the lead, without whose aid all traces of our Apostolic Church in many of the provinces would have been lost. The time is come for us to repay the benefit, not to them, but to those who migrated from us, as our fathers did from the land of their nativity."

Pointing out that the missionary work had been hindered by the lack of ministers as much as by the scarcity of means, the bishop expresses the hope that the founding of the General Theological Seminary would aid in the supplying of ministers to those states which had not risen into existence when this Church was organized. He closes with a strong insistence upon the duty of sending the Gospel to the benighted heathen and with a plea for the prayers of the faithful.

To aid in gathering funds, auxiliary societies, both diocesan and parochial, were established. The first of these was The Missionary Society of the Diocese of Maryland, auxiliary to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the United States. Of this society Bishop Kemp was president. This was quickly followed by an auxiliary in the parish of the Rev. William A. Muhlenberg at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and a third was established at Trinity Church, Easton, Maryland. The noteworthy feature of this branch of the work was, that of the first eleven auxiliaries, eight were established by women, and the names should be recorded. They are as follows:

The Auxiliary Female Missionary Society of St. John's Church, in the northern Liberties of Philadelphia, August 28, 1822.

The Episcopal Female Missionary Society in the Borough of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, November, 1822.

The Auxiliary Female Missionary Society of Beaufort, South Carolina, February, 1823.

The Female Missionary Society of Christ Church, Savannah, Georgia, March, 1823.

The Female Auxiliary Missionary Society of Germantown, Pennsylvania, April 29, 1823.

The Auxiliary Female Missionary Association of Christ Church, Philadelphia, April, 1823.

The Auxiliary Female Missionary Association of Trinity Church, Southwark, Pennsylvania, May 7, 1823.

These "female" societies antedate the formation of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions by nearly fifty years, and to the diocese of Pennsylvania belongs the honor of first enlisting women in the missionary work of the Church.

The directors soon found it necessary to devise some practical method of keeping in touch with the Church and especially with the auxiliaries. The Church papers had a very limited circulation, and there was no missionary paper. It was, therefore, decided to seek the consent of the bishops to send agents into the dioceses. The replies were far from encouraging. The episcopate was absorbed with diocesan needs. Bishop Hobart was convinced that such a plan would seriously interfere with the collections for diocesan missions in New York; Channing Moore advised that no effort be made in Virginia until after the General Convention, and, in view of the fact that funds were being solicited for the Theological School, was of the opinion that such a step would be impolitic. Bowen, of South Carolina, approved such an agency, but doubted the success of any plan, however excellent, which "has not a direct bearing upon the necessities of this diocese." Chase, of Ohio, was shy of the proposal, and apparently the only two bishops who approved of the plan were Brownell, of Connecticut, and Croes, of New Jersey. The Church was still parochial.

Undiscouraged, the directors pursued their plan. Some of the larger parishes permitted their rectors to act as agents for the society for a limited period. The first of these was the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. He visited Connecticut with the following pecuniary results:

In Hartford	\$75.00
In Middletown	21.00
In New London	42.00
In New Haven	70.00

A total of \$208, to which must be added a gift of securities to the value of \$1,100, made by a lady at Middletown. This is the first recorded large gift for missions. The Rev. Amos G. Baldwin, who had been officiating at Ogdensburg, New York, was appointed western agent in December, 1822, and the Rev. Nathaniel S. Wheaton, of Connecticut, and Rev. Eleazar Williams were assigned to Michigan.

The first triennial meeting of the society was held at St. James' Church, Philadelphia, May 20, 1823. The sermon was preached by Bishop White, from Isaiah 55:10-11:

"For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater: so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

The report of the directors was mainly occupied by a recital of the steps taken towards perfecting an organization. So far as actual work was concerned, there was not a single missionary employed either in the domestic or the foreign field. It was, however, contemplated to send a missionary to Green Bay, Michigan, and also one to the north-west coast of Africa, and an application had been received for a missionary to be sent to St. Augustine, Florida. The treasurer, Mr. Thomas Hale, reported a balance in hand for general missions of \$2,256.10; for domestic missions of \$376.80, and for the foreign work of \$1,157.96. The permanent fund amounted to \$1,206.24. There were 21 patrons; 11 life members and 74 annual subscribers, by far the larger number being from Philadelphia.

The next three years in the history of the society were trying both

to faith and patience. The story of the development of the domestic work and the failure to establish a foreign mission will be told in other chapters; this is concerned with machinery and methods. The most hopeful feature of the second triennial period was the growth of the auxiliary societies. They increased from eleven to thirty-two. A diocesan auxiliary was formed in Delaware, and parochial societies at Providence and Newport, in Rhode Island; Boston, Salem, and Marblehead, in Massachusetts; and at several places in Connecticut. During the three years the number of patrons and life members doubled, but the annual subscribers only increased by eight.

The society was employing three domestic missionaries at a total cost of \$950 per annum, and no foreign workers at all. The financial situation was not encouraging. On general missions there was a deficit of \$502.17, and on domestic missions the balance was reduced to \$178.09. The foreign fund was untouched. The executive committee found itself constrained to say:

“Thus far the society has excited but a very inadequate interest, and met with a patronage altogether disproportioned, both to the exigencies and the resources of the Church. This state of things,” the report adds, “we would rather attribute to a want of acquaintance with the existence and claims of the society, than to a want of interest in its important objects.”

Some improvement was noted at the triennial of 1829. “The board have cause to express thankfulness to God that some portions of the cloud that rested upon the society’s path at the last meeting have been dispersed.” One reason for the lifting of the cloud was that something had been attempted and something accomplished. The first foreign missionary of the Church was prospecting in Greece and sending home glowing accounts of the possibilities in that unhappy country, just mercifully delivered from the cruel yoke of the unspeakable Turk. The way was also opening for the long projected mission to Liberia. During the three years in the domestic field, churches had been opened at Detroit and St. Louis; missionaries were at work at St. Augustine, Pensacola and Tallahassee in Florida; and at Tuscaloosa in Alabama; the mission at Green Bay had been re-opened, and the Oneida Indians in Michigan had come under the care of the society.

Notwithstanding these efforts it was reported that the society “has not yet received, or at least has not till very recently received, even from the friends of missions amongst us, that general and cordial support which was so earnestly to have been desired.”

VI. SEARCHINGS OF HEART AND INCREASED ACTIVITY

BY 1829 it was evident to those who were most deeply interested in the missionary work of the Church that something was wrong. A pamphlet published in Philadelphia entitled, *Crisis in the Affairs of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: and An Appeal to Episcopalians in Its Behalf*, excited widespread attention. It was a fearless analysis of a most unhappy situation. The writer pointed out that the average income of the society during the eight years of its existence had not exceeded \$1,500 per annum; that the organization was ineffective, being without a general agent and with its treasury exhausted; and that there were but four missionaries at work in three stations.

A committee of the House of Deputies presented an exhaustive report not free from caustic criticism. The committee attributed the lack of the support of the society partly to the want of plans to raise money on systematic principles, and partly to certain features of the constitution, which not only impeded the operations of the society, but also estranged many who should have been its friends. The directors suffered, as they pathetically confessed, "from a chronic uncertainty concerning the income." They were obliged "to rely upon voluntary, irregular, and often, intermittent congregational collections and casual donations." This made the engagement of missionaries extremely hazardous, and their prompt payment almost impossible.

The committee expressed the view that missionary efforts had been spread over too large an area to be really effective, and suggested that the foreign work be confined to Greece and the proposed mission in Liberia. On the domestic side, the problem of the selection of strategic points was most difficult because the South and West country was growing, as the committee said, "with unexampled and almost fearful rapidity." The problem of "where, in that vast expanse which is ripening as wheat unto harvest, it can put in the sickle with the best prospect of reaping an abundant and glorious harvest," was really a very serious one. It was, however, remembered that Bishop Ravenscroft, of North Carolina, had recently paid a visit to the parishes in Kentucky and Tennessee, it being the first episcopal visitation to those states. He had not only administered confirmation, but had gathered large and valuable information on the conditions and prospects of the Church. The committee recommended the extension of this plan, and expressed its opinion that there could "be no enterprise better calculated to reflect honor on the episcopal character."

Certain changes were made in the constitution of the society. **Four** standing committees were appointed—finance, domestic, foreign, and library. The Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, afterwards bishop of Kentucky, and the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks were appointed secretaries. As yet, there was no paid agent, and the board still depended upon voluntary workers to visit the mission stations. The Rev. Alonzo Potter, rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, and afterwards bishop of Pennsylvania, went through the eastern states, and Bishop Meade, of Virginia, visited Kentucky and Tennessee.

The most notable step was the appointment of Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, to visit the states lying west and south of the Alleghanies. In company with the Rev. William Richmond, of New York, he left Philadelphia, journeyed to Pittsburgh; thence down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans, and on to Mobile, Alabama, a journey of nearly 6,000 miles by stage, steamboat, and on horseback. The bishop consecrated six churches, administered confirmation in seven parishes and held one ordination.

In Mississippi he found the wealthy planters well disposed towards the Church, but notes that the prospects "seemed exceedingly gloomy on his arrival." Two clergymen had just left the state, and two others were preparing to leave. In Louisiana there were but two organized parishes, but a meeting was held to organize the Church in the state. It was attended by the three resident clergymen and by "several respectable laymen." In Alabama there were many scattered churchmen, but only four settled parishes. Georgia was reported as being greatly in need of missionaries.

The bishop estimated that in the states of Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana and in the territories of Florida, Arkansas, Michigan, and Missouri, there was a population of 4,000,000 with twenty Episcopal congregations, eleven completed churches, and twenty-three clergymen. Other denominations were in like case. Immense districts were found to be either entirely destitute of religious ministrations, or else at the mercy of itinerant preachers of no education and sometimes doubtful character, who substituted "heresy and fanaticism for religion and piety."

The increased activity of the society stimulated the interest and liberality of the Church. Auxiliaries were roused to greater activity, and some pledged annual contributions as high as \$200. The Missionary Association of St. Luke's Church, Rochester, New York, sent \$500—an exceptional gift for those days. In 1832 the income of the society rose to \$16,443.29. The largest contributions came from the dioceses of New York and Pennsylvania; the smallest from North Carolina. By the following year the income had increased \$10,000. It was felt,

therefore, that the time had come to extend the operations of the society and the matter was referred to a committee, of which George Washington Doane, just elected bishop of New Jersey, was chairman.

The report is noteworthy not only for its policy of aggression, but also because of its enunciation of fundamental principles which were destined to revolutionize the missionary policy of the Church in the United States. A forward movement was recommended, the conviction being expressed that "the best mode of increasing the means of the society was an immediate and very considerable increase of its active operations." In accordance with this policy the executive committee was advised to appoint twenty additional missionaries in the domestic field. They were to be distributed in the following states, territories, and dioceses: Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, the South-western diocese, and in such other states and territories in the West and South as were not yet organized into dioceses. On the foreign side, the problem was not so easy. Missionaries of other churches were at work in Liberia, but as yet the Episcopal Church had gained no footing in the Negro Republic. The appointment of two missionaries was, therefore, recommended, and inquiry was to be made concerning other openings in Africa. The Rev. George Boyd, of Philadelphia, was appointed general agent of the society, and proceeded to organize parochial associations in support of the work of the board.

MISSIONARY PERIODICALS

To this period belongs the story of the beginnings of missionary periodicals. The directors of the society were early impressed with the necessity of devising some method whereby they could keep the members of the Church regularly informed of the plans and progress of the missionary work. For reasons of economy this was first tried through the medium of the established Church papers; but this method proved to be inadequate and unsatisfactory. In 1827 steps were taken to establish an official organ of the society. It took the form of a periodical entitled, *Quarterly Papers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*. The first number was issued in March, 1828. The eight pages were taken up with a statement of the plans of the board for establishing a permanent mission in Africa, and copious extracts from English papers on conditions in the Dark Continent. The paper was suspended from December, 1828, to July, 1829, and again from then until March, 1830.

The following year the society resolved to publish a monthly paper, but the executive committee compromised on an issue every two months. The first number of this new series was dated March, 1831, and its title

was, *The Periodical Missionary Paper*. It was designed to contain a "regular history of the society's proceedings, extracts from correspondence and reports of missionaries; together with the most important and encouraging facts collected from the publications of other societies, particularly those of our own Church in England and elsewhere." The first three numbers contained upon the front page blood-curdling pictures of the procession of Juggernaut, human sacrifices in Africa, and Hindoo devotees. Happily, these soon ceased.

The plan for a monthly paper would not down. On January 1, 1833, therefore, there appeared *The Missionary Record*, numbering sixteen pages. The subscription price was \$1 per annum, and free copies were sent to the members of the society and to the clergy. The entire cost of this publication was a trifle over \$1,000 per annum. There were 513 subscribers, and one firm paid \$80 for the privilege of advertising on the cover. The net cost to the society was, therefore, \$487 for the year. In reply to a criticism of this very moderate outlay, the directors affirmed their conviction "that the steady progress of the society depends, under the blessing of God, on the diffusion of missionary intelligence"—a statement which subsequent history has amply justified.

After the reorganization of the society in 1835, a committee was appointed by the newly elected board of missions "to take order as to a missionary paper." It was resolved to issue the paper in New York and the Rev. W. R. Whittingham, afterwards bishop of Maryland, was appointed editor at a salary of \$300 per annum. It was further unanimously resolved that the title be, *The Spirit of Missions*, and that "it be neatly printed in octavo in sixteen pages, with a cover; afforded to subscribers at \$1 per annum, payable in advance." The first number appeared in January, 1836. What are described as "providential circumstances" prevented Mr. Whittingham from undertaking the editorship, and Bishop George Washington Doane supervised the first three issues. The initial number had thirty-two pages, the place of honor being given to the proceedings of the domestic and foreign committees. Foreign missions were represented by an important letter addressed to Bishop White by the Rev. Dr. J. H. Hill, our missionary in Greece, followed by part of a sermon preached by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, Jr., recently appointed missionary to Turkey and the Near East. From the domestic field were letters from Bishops Otey and Kemper, and a communication from the Rev. Isaac W. Hallam, "missionary to Chicago," who reports an increasing congregation and an addition of four to the list of communicants. Mention is also made of the safe arrival of the Rev. Messrs. Henry Lockwood and Francis R. Hanson, the first missionaries of the American Church to China.

VII. THE BEGINNINGS OF DOMESTIC MISSIONS UNDER THE SOCIETY

FROM the outset the foreign and domestic work was regarded as "one and indivisible," but the latter was nearest at hand and the first to be undertaken.

In an address to the members of the Church, the managers of the society set forth the case of the faithful all over the United States who were destitute of Christian privileges, and of those who, "being either emigrants, or descendants of emigrants from among ourselves, have not the means of enjoying the religious services which they prefer."

"It has been estimated that in the states and territories situate on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, there are not less than 150,000 professing Episcopalians, from whom comes the constant cry: 'Come over and help us.'"

In 1822 a committee was directed to ascertain the most important stations to be occupied, and to inquire for missionaries. Jackson Kemper, the chairman, communicated with Bishop Chase, who wrote recommending the employment of itinerant missionaries, and pleaded for the poor congregations of Ohio, stating that if they were suffered to expire for want of the Word and Sacraments, "there are poor hopes and small encouragements to sow and plant elsewhere."

Joseph Doddridge, who had labored almost single-handed in Western Pennsylvania, reported that:

"In all my little missionary excursions in the State of Ohio and the western part of Virginia, I have found the state of things everywhere the same. . . . In every place there exists the skeleton of an Episcopal congregation . . . a considerable number of Episcopalian descent who have not associated themselves with any other religious community; and these people are, for the most part, the most wealthy and the most intelligent part of the population."

From Alabama, the Rev. Christopher Haneckle reported the presence of many churchmen who had come from the southern states, but no clergyman of the Church to minister to them. In Kentucky, Louisville, the most important station, with a large number of Church families, a clergyman would be received with "open arms." St. Louis stood ready to support a minister, and Nashville, Tennessee, was entirely destitute of a minister of the Church. It was likewise reported that Illinois "contains a number of the friends of our Church," and Indiana

"a number of Episcopal families." And so the story ran: people hungering for the Word of life and the Sacraments of grace.

Such was the immediate problem in the domestic field. The first response was a draft for \$200 sent to Bishop Chase and drawn in favor of "William Little, treasurer of the Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio"—the first recorded appropriation for missions in this Church.

IN FLORIDA

Florida was the first station selected for a missionary. During the British occupancy of twenty years, there had been missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and a church had been erected which was pulled down by the Roman Catholics when the country was ceded back to Spain. In 1819 Florida came into the possession of the United States, and two years later the Young Men's Missionary Association of Charleston, South Carolina, sent the Rev. Andrew Fowler "to St. Augustine as their missionary for the space of two months, in order, if possible, to collect and organize a congregation." Mr. Fowler arrived to find the city in the grip of yellow fever. Nevertheless, he held his first service in the old Government House on October 7, and preached to "a numerous, respectable and attentive audience." Two years later the missionary society sent the Rev. Mellish L. Motte, of South Carolina, to St. Augustine, where he preached in the courthouse. The venture met with scant success. Mr. Motte found "idleness and dissipation" rampant, and, discouraged by the lack of support, he returned to South Carolina. Although without a clergyman, a parish was organized with twenty communicants. In 1826 the Rev. Raymond A. Henderson arrived, and four years later the church edifice, "a neat building of hewn stone, fifty by fifty-five feet, of the Gothic order," was near completion, and was consecrated by Bishop Bowen, of South Carolina, in 1834, when twenty persons were confirmed. Mr. Henderson also conducted the first Church services in Jacksonville.

In 1827 the society sent the Rev. Ralph Williston to Tallahassee, but he remained at Pensacola for a time, where he officiated in the courthouse and organized Christ Church. In the entire population of 2,000 souls there were twelve Episcopalians, ten Methodists, two Presbyterians, and the same number of Baptists. Later a "neat and substantial church, well adapted to the climate," was erected, but not paid for. From Pensacola, Mr. Williston proceeded to Tallahassee, where he found two communicants, and there he organized St. John's Church, after which Florida knew him no more. At Jacksonville the Rev. David Brown organized St. John's Church, East Florida, and found there "a

few old folks who belonged to the Church forty years before." Key West, which had been a resort for pirates, received its first missionary in 1832, but death cut his service short. His successor was not pleased with the climate, and in 1836 the society appointed the Rev. Robert Dyce.

In 1838 the diocese of Florida was organized with parishes at Tallahassee, St. Augustine, Pensacola, Jacksonville, St. Joseph, Apalachicola, and Key West. It was placed in charge of Bishop Otey, of Tennessee. The same year Bishop Kemper made a visitation and consecrated the church at Pensacola and also at Tallahassee, where he describes the church as "a neat wooden building with a portico and pillars in front . . . the interior arrangements exceedingly judicious and indicative of good taste; the organ and choir are good, and the communion plates and lamps handsome and rich." In 1850 the Rev. Francis Huger Rutledge (1799-1866), rector of St. John's, Tallahassee, was elected first bishop of Florida. He was consecrated the next year.

IN MISSOURI

The first services of the Church in Missouri were held in St. Louis in 1819 by the Rev. John Ward, of Lexington, Kentucky, in the First Baptist Church, and later in a dance hall. The population numbered 5,000, of whom six attended the service; and but two of the six had Prayer Books. Christ Church was organized December 6. In April, 1821, Mr. Ward returned to Kentucky and the pews and pulpit were sold to the Methodists.

Two years later the society sent the Rev. Thomas Horrell, of Maryland, as its first missionary to Missouri, which had just been admitted as a state. His initial work was done in Jackson County, where the fact that he was the only missionary in the state was found "to constitute a strong objection in the minds of serious persons, to attaching themselves to our Communion, as they feel no assurance that the ordinances will be perpetuated amongst them." The society was unable to respond to his appeal "for the counsel and support of a fellow-laborer," and in 1825 he moved to St. Louis. There many of "the most pious of the Episcopalians had joined other societies, despairing of ever obtaining a minister of their own." A small congregation, however, was gathered, a new vestry elected, and an unfinished building fitted for services. The congregations increased in numbers and in "respectful attention to the services of the sanctuary," and Mr. Horrell reports that he has administered the Holy Communion to seven persons, four of whom had never communed before.

In June, 1826, a church building was commenced and proceeded with painful slowness. Burdened with debt, local resources exhausted, and the building unfinished, the vestry turned for aid to their Christian brethren "beyond the mountains," and Mr. Horrell collected \$700 in New York and Philadelphia. In 1827 he reports twenty-seven families, twelve communicants residing in St. Louis and eight outside the town; thirty-two baptisms, six marriages, and four burials. The vestry could contribute nothing to the support of the minister, "as everything we can rake and scrape is swallowed up by the building itself." An effort to borrow money failed, even at ten per cent interest, "as churches are so little in demand." The church was finally opened November 10, 1829, and is described as "a neat little building . . . but looking more like an academy than a church, having forty-eight pews capable of seating 250 persons, with a gallery at one end in which is a most excellent organ."

Mr. Horrell removed to Tennessee in 1831, and the society appointed the Rev. L. H. Corson to Missouri. He reported that for 300 miles round St. Louis the fields were white unto harvest, and that he had found a venerable churchman who had lived in the woods and had not once seen a clergyman. Christ Church was consecrated May 25, 1834, by Bishop Benjamin Bosworth Smith of Kentucky, it being the first church consecrated west of the Mississippi and north of New Orleans.

IN MICHIGAN

The society next turned its attention to Michigan, which was settled mainly from New England, New York State, and Ohio.

The earliest Protestant services in Detroit had been conducted by British army chaplains. The Rev. George Mitchell had remained in the town eighteen months, and Priest Pollard's services in the council house had lasted from 1802 to 1823. He was a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Canada, and crossed the river in a canoe to minister to the twenty or thirty English-speaking families.

In 1821 the first minister of the Episcopal Church, the Rev. A. W. Welton, came from Buffalo to become minister of the First Protestant Society, and supported himself by teaching school. He died within the year. Whereupon the managers of the missionary society appointed the Rev. Richard F. Cadle, who arrived in Detroit June 12, 1824. There were 2,000 inhabitants, with a Roman Catholic, a Methodist, and a Union Church. Mr. Cadle found about forty persons attached to the Church and three or four communicants. The work prospered and St. Paul's Church was organized. In 1827 land was secured for a church designed to be built of brick. The cornerstone was laid by Bishop John

Henry Hobart, of New York, the first bishop to visit Michigan; he also confirmed eleven persons. On August 24, 1828, the church was consecrated by Hobart. It measured sixty by forty-nine feet and had a gothic tower. The cost was \$4,500, and sixteen pews were sold for \$1,950.

Mr. Cadle did not confine his work to Detroit, but reached out to Ann Arbor and Troy, and officiated at Ypsilanti. At the end of five years he was succeeded by the Rev. Richard Bury, of Albany, New York, who found a small number of Church folk seriously embarrassed by the debt on the church. He reported to the society that not less than a dozen missionaries were needed and would be profitably engaged. In 1830 the Rev. S. W. Freeman came to Ann Arbor and included Dexter in his field. He organized the parish at Tecumseh. The following year a gifted Irishman of some means, the Rev. John O'Brien, settled at Monroe, where there were two communicants; he built a church, which was consecrated by Bishop McIlvaine in 1834.

At a meeting in Detroit, 1832, attended by three clergymen, the diocese of Michigan was organized. An appeal was made to the General Convention for a bishop, and the Rev. Samuel Allen McCoskry was elected. He was thirty-six years old, strikingly handsome, and never forgot the names of those he had confirmed. His first visitation covered 600 miles—by canoe, stage, steamboat, and horseback. Feeble parishes were revived and new ones organized. His episcopate lasted for forty-two years.

IN KENTUCKY

Kentucky was settled from Virginia and the first service of the Church was conducted in 1775 by the Rev. John Lyth* under an elm tree. Other clergymen followed, but forsook the ministry for secular work. Benjamin Sebastian became judge of the court of appeals, and James Elliott turned to farming; a third clergyman from Virginia settled as a doctor of medicine, and was killed in a duel. In 1800 a subscription was set on foot for the erection of a church in Lexington, where the Rev. James Moore was minister, and the Rev. William

*Rev. John Lyth was born in Yorkshire and graduated B. A. of Clare College, Cambridge, in 1756. Licensed by Bishop of London for Virginia in 1763. Was in South Carolina for a year in 1767. He was a settler in Harrodsburg, one of the four townships of the ill-fated Transylvania Colony, and was elected a member of the Transylvania Legislature, which assembled May 23, 1775. Took part in that Assembly and preached before it, said to be the first religious service on the soil of Kentucky, on May 28, 1775.

Transylvania became Kentucky County in Virginia and John Lyth was chaplain of Virginia militia in the campaigns against the Cherokee Indians in 1776 and 1777. He then enlisted as chaplain in a Virginia regiment, and became surgeon of the 13th Virginia Regiment of the Continental Army. He was killed by an Indian January 15, 1778. (See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, **XLI**, 237.)

Kavanaugh officiated at Louisville, Paris, Middletown, and Shelbyville, a range of 250 miles. The Rev. Henry M. Shaw settled at Louisville in 1823, and Christ Church was erected.

The diocese of Kentucky was organized at a meeting held at Lexington in July, 1829, and attended by three clergymen and delegates from the three parishes of Lexington, Louisville, and Danville. Later in the month Bishop Ravenscroft, of North Carolina, held confirmation, and in November Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, on his southern visitation, consecrated the churches at Lexington and Louisville, but found the work in "a cold and depressed state." In 1830 the missionary society appointed its first missionary, the Rev. George P. Giddings, to Kentucky, and later in the same year the Rev. Robert Ash, who reports that he found at Shelbyville but one "pious Episcopalian, and but very few who appear to have any predilection for the Episcopal Church." In 1832 the Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, rector of Christ Church, Lexington, was elected first bishop of Kentucky and consecrated in St. Paul's Chapel, New York.

IN ALABAMA

It is impossible to detail all the operations of the society in the domestic field up to 1835, but mention should be made of Alabama and Illinois.

In 1826 the society sent the Rev. Robert Davis "to visit the State of Alabama and advance the interests of the society and religion there." He organized a parish at Tuscaloosa in 1828, and the following year the society appointed the Rev. William H. Judd as missionary at that station. Although Mr. Judd died within six months, he left a flourishing congregation and a church building almost completed. Mobile, where the Protestants had erected a church building for union services in 1822, was placed in charge of the Rev. Henry A. Shaw in 1826. There were twenty-eight communicants and the building is described as "too small and very old." In 1830 Bishop Brownell presided over the primary convention composed of "the principal Episcopalians of the city and from other parts of the state." The diocese was admitted into union with the General Convention two years later.

IN ILLINOIS

The Rev. L. H. Corson, of St. Louis, who visited Edwardsville, Illinois, expressed the opinion that Illinois was a more promising field for the Church than Missouri. Encouraged by this report the society sent the Rev. John Batchelder to Jacksonville in 1832. He found a parish under the name of Trinity Church already organized, and twenty

Episcopal families. The church was consecrated by Bishop Kemper in 1835. One year before the society had appointed three missionaries for Illinois—the Rev. Messrs. Isaac W. Hallam to Chicago; Henry Tullidge to Galena, and James C. Richmond to Rushville; in addition to which Palmer Dyer organized a parish at Peoria. On October 12, 1834, Mr. Dyer conducted the first Church service in Chicago in the Presbyterian meeting house, and Mr. Hallam arrived the same evening. St. James' Parish was organized on November 2, and Mr. Hallam writes:

"I can assure the society that they could not have sent a missionary to any place where his services are more needed, or may be more beneficial. Two years ago this place was known only as a military post. It is now as large as any town in the state, containing about 2,000 inhabitants."

In 1835 a church, sixty-four by forty-four, was begun, and occupied in a little less than two years. There were twenty communicants.

Meanwhile, the three clergymen of the state met and organized a diocese and resolved:

"That this Convention do hereby appoint the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D., a bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to the episcopate of Illinois; and that he be and hereby is invited to move into this diocese and to assume episcopal jurisdiction in the same."

Bishop Chase was fifty-nine years old and worn with labors oft; the diocese was unable to offer him any salary; there were only three clergymen in the diocese and a vast field to cover; but he entered on the work without hesitation, and remained at his post until his death on September 20, 1852.

Just prior to the reorganization of the society in 1835, the managers had sent missionaries to Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, and Florida.

VIII. THE BIRTH OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS

THE year 1835 will be forever marked as the most important in the history of the missionary work of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The revival which had swept the older states, and the rapid growth of the work in the newer states and territories demonstrated the fact that a radical reorganization of missionary effort was absolutely essential.

The first step was taken by the directors of the society. Early in 1835 they appointed a committee of seven "to consider and report whether any and what measures should be adopted for the more efficient organization of the society, and the future conduct of its concerns." It was a remarkable committee and had a still more remarkable history. The members were: Bishops George Washington Doane and Charles P. McIlvaine, the Rev. Drs. James Milnor, J. P. K. Henshaw, Frederick Beasley, Jackson Kemper, and Mr. A. C. Magruder.

Acute controversies were looming on the horizon. Less than two years before the appointment of this committee, John Keble had preached that notable sermon on national apostasy at Oxford—which Newman always said had marked the birth of the Tractarian movement. Copies had reached America and men were beginning to take sides. Doane was a militant high churchman of amazing versatility; a tireless worker; an ardent champion of the Church; a poet ranking with Keble himself; and a preacher of astonishing power. McIlvaine was the rising hope of the evangelicals and their acknowledged leader. Milnor and Henshaw were staunch and aggressive evangelicals, and Beasley and Kemper ranked as high churchmen. Mr. Magruder, the only lay member, was from the diocese of Maryland.

The story of how men of such diverse opinions came to an agreement is graphically told by Bishop Doane:

"It is a matter of record that the committee of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, by which the present missionary organization was reported, consisted of Bishop Doane, Bishop McIlvaine, Dr. Milnor, Dr. Henshaw, Dr. Kemper, Dr. Beasley, and Mr. Magruder. Before the committee had met the first three came casually together. 'What would you think,' said Dr. Milner, who had moved the resolution for the appointment of a committee, 'what should you think of reporting that the Church is the Missionary Society, and should carry on the work of missions by a board appointed by the General Convention?' 'Why,' replied Bishop Doane, 'it is the very plan which I have long thought ought to have been adopted, and for the adoption of which I should thank God with my whole heart.' 'How very strange is this,' said Bishop McIlvaine. 'I surely knew nothing of the mind of either of you, and yet that is the very plan which I have introduced into the sermon which I am to preach before the society!' When the committee met, the three members above named stated their views as above, and found them cordially reciprocated by all their associates. Thus, as to the principle of their report the committee were, from the first, unanimous. To whom shall the praise be given, but 'to the God that maketh men to be of one mind in a house?'"

The report, presented to the board of directors by Bishop Doane, voiced the opinion that "the best interests of religion and of man require an immediate and extensive change in the mode in which the Church has hitherto discharged the great missionary trust," and it went on to say:

"As to the mode of operations which they propose to substitute . . . the committee unanimously recommended that the *Church herself, in dependance on her divine Head, and for the promotion of His glory, undertake and carry on, in her character as the Church, and as the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, the work of Christian missions.*"

The missionary field was to be regarded as one—the world; the terms domestic and foreign being adopted for convenience alone. The appeal of the board was to be made to all baptized persons, as such, and based on their baptismal vows. Instead of relying upon auxiliaries, each parish was to be regarded as a missionary association, and its minister an agent of the board, for Jesus' sake.

To carry out these principles, the General Convention was to be the organ working through a board of missions, consisting of thirty members elected by concurrent vote of both Houses after nomination by a joint committee. The board was also directed to appoint two committees, of seven persons each, to have the active oversight of domestic and foreign missions, respectively.

The discussion of these revolutionary proposals excited great interest. A contemporary account says:

"The discussion of this subject, in the different bodies through which it passed, occupied several days, and was, in every circle, however remotely connected with the Church, the prevailing theme of every tongue. Large numbers of persons, not connected with the convention or the society, attended with unflinching interest the frequent and protracted sittings. The debates were conducted with great spirit and ability, in some cases in strains of powerful eloquence, but always with Christian kindness and courtesy."

To this may be added the more detailed account published by Bishop Doane in his diocesan paper, the *Missionary*:

"The report having been read, the chairman, on the motion of the Rev. Dr. Milnor, was requested to state the principles of the plan proposed by the committee, and the reasons which had led to their adoption. In response, Bishop Doane showed first that by the original constitution of Christ, the Church, as the Church, was the one great Missionary Society, and the

Apostles, and the bishops, their successors, His perpetual trustees: and that this great trust could not, and should never be divided or deputed. The duty, he maintained, to support the Church in preaching the Gospel to every creature, was one which passed on *every Christian, by the terms of his baptismal vow*, and from which he could not be absolved. The General Convention he claimed to be the duly constituted representative of the Church; and pointed out its admirable combination of all that was necessary to secure, on the one hand, the confidence of the whole Church, and, on the other, the most concentrated and intense efficiency. He then explained the constitution of the Board of Missions, the permanent agent of the Church in this behalf: developing and defining all its powers and functions, as the central reservoir of energy and influence for the missionary work, and the appointment by it, and in subordination to it, of the *two Executive Committees* for the two great departments, foreign and domestic, of the one great field—the missionary *hands* of the Church, reaching out into all the world to bear the Gospel to every creature—each having its *Secretary and Agent*. . . . For the effectual organization of the body, in the holy work to which the Saviour calls them, he indicated the parochial relation, as the most important of all bonds—calling on every clergyman, as the agent of the board, for Jesus' sake, to use his utmost efforts in instructing first, and interesting his people, then in engaging their free-will offering of themselves in its support, upon the apostolic plan of *systematic charity*—laying up in store every Lord's day, as God should prosper them; and, when the gathering was made, transmitting to the treasury of the Church the consecrated alms."

After a stirring debate the report was unanimously adopted by the directors.

The final decision lay with the General Convention, which assembled in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, on Wednesday, August 19, 1835. It was the last convention over which the venerable Bishop White presided, and the first time Tennessee was represented in the House of Bishops. The discussion of the proposed constitution of the society occupied considerable time. Bishop Griswold still clung to the plan of voluntary societies, which had proved so successful in England, and some of the evangelicals thought that there was a disposition to under-rate the character and success of the old organization, but these objections were finally overcome. On Friday, August 28th, the new constitution was adopted with some verbal amendments, and a joint committee was appointed to nominate the members of the new Board of Missions.*

Bishop White was president. The other bishops, sixteen in number, were vice-presidents. The elective members numbered fifteen presbyters

*See Appendix to this chapter for the list of members.

and fifteen laymen, representing eleven dioceses. In addition to the elective members, certain of the clergy and laity, who had been constituted patrons of the society prior to 1829, were, under the new constitution, *ex-officio* members of the board. They included the Rev. Drs. Jackson Kemper, James Milnor, Alonzo Potter, William H. DeLancey, and John P. K. Henshaw. It was a strong and thoroughly representative board, and contained nine future bishops.

Canonical provision was then made for the immediate election of two missionary bishops, which took place in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. Bishop Doane has left a vivid description of the election:

"In a retired apartment, the Fathers of the Church are in deep consultation. There are twelve assembled. They kneel in silent prayer. They rise. They cast their ballots. A presbyter, whose praise is in all the Churches, is called by them to leave a heritage as fair as ever fell to mortal man, and bear his Master's Cross through the deep forests of the vast Southwest. Again the ballots are prepared. They are cast in silence. They designate to the same arduous work, where broad Missouri pours her rapid tide, another, known and loved of all, whom, from a humbler lot, the Saviour now has called to feed His sheep. A messenger bears the result to the assembled deputies. A breathless silence fills the house of God. It is announced that Francis L. Hawks and Jackson Kemper, Doctors in Divinity, are nominated the two first Missionary Bishops of the Church; and all the delegates, as with a single voice, confirm the designation."

It was the closing act of a General Convention which will forever be memorable in the annals of the American Church.

"One scene remains.—The night is far advanced. The congregation linger still, to hear the parting counsel of their fathers in the Lord. There is a stir in the deep chancel. The Bishops enter, and array themselves in their appropriate seats. The aged patriarch, at whose hands they all have been invested with the warrant of their holy trust, stands in the desk,—in aspect, meek, serene, and venerable, as the beloved John at Ephesus, when, sole survivor of the apostolic band, he daily urged upon his flock the affecting lesson, 'Little children, love one another!' Erect and tall, though laden with the weight of almost ninety winters, and with voice distinct and clear, he holds enchained all eyes, all ears, all hearts, while, with sustained and vigorous spirit he recites, in behalf and name of all his brethren, the Pastoral message, drawn from the stores of his long hoarded learning, enforced by the deductions of his old experience, and instinct throughout with the seraphic meekness of his wisdom.—He ceases from his faithful testimony. The voice of melody, in the befitting words of that

delightful Psalm, 'Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,' melts all hearts. And then, all knees are bent, to ask once more, as something to be borne and cherished in all after life, the apostolic benediction of that good old man."

Well, indeed, might Dr. Milnor write to his wife: "All is harmony and peace. Never has there been a meeting of the great council of the Church at which so much has been done, and so well and satisfactorily done."

The new Board of Missions held its first meeting in St. Andrew's Church on September 19th. The following appointments were made:

DOMESTIC COMMITTEE:

The Rev. *Francis L. Hawks, D. D.*, the Rev. *Henry Anthon, D. D.*, the Rev. *Hugh Smith*, the Rev. *Lot Jones*; Messrs. *Henry Carey, Brittian L. Wooley, Anson Blake, Murray Hoffman*.

SECRETARY AND GENERAL AGENT:

The Rev. *Benjamin Dorr*.

FOREIGN COMMITTEE:

The Rev. *James Milnor, D. D.*, the Rev. *Manton Eastburn*, the Rev. *William Jackson*, the Rev. *J. M. Forbes*; Messrs. *Frederick S. Winston, Lewis Curtis, James F. De Peyster, John P. Stagg*.

SECRETARY AND GENERAL AGENT:

The Rev. *James Milnor, D. D.*

The matter of locating these two committees proved quite troublesome. For the foreign committee, Boston and Philadelphia were proposed without success, and eventually both were placed in New York. There is more in this than appears on the surface. It had been tacitly agreed that the high churchmen should have direction of domestic missions, and the low churchmen the foreign field. While, for the sake of peace, this may have been the best possible plan at the time, it had unfortunate results in later years, and was the ultimate cause of the formation of the American Church Missionary Society.

Because no provision was made for his support, Dr. Francis Lister Hawks felt compelled to decline his election as the first missionary bishop of the Southwest. During the General Convention of 1838 the Rev. Leonidas Polk was elected, and consecrated to that office on December 9th of that year. Dr. Jackson Kemper accepted his election as the first missionary bishop of the Northwest, was consecrated September 25, 1835, and began one of the notable episcopates in the history of the American Church.

APPENDIX

ELECTIVE MEMBERS OF THE NEW BOARD OF
MISSIONS, 1835

PRESIDENT:

Bishop White.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

Bishops *Alexander V. Griswold*, of the Eastern Diocese; *Richard Channing Moore*, Virginia; *Nathaniel Bowen*, South Carolina; *Philander Chase*, Illinois; *Thomas C. Brownell*, Connecticut; *Henry U. Onderdonk*, Pennsylvania; *William Meade*, Virginia; *William M. Stone*, Maryland; *Benjamin T. Onderdonk*, New York; *Levi S. Ives*, North Carolina; *John Henry Hopkins*, Vermont; *Benjamin B. Smith*, Kentucky; *Charles P. McIlvaine*, Ohio; *George W. Doane*, New Jersey; *James H. Otey*, Tennessee; *Jackson Kemper*, Missionary Bishop.

ELECTIVE MEMBERS:

MASSACHUSETTS—The Rev. *Jonathan M. Wainwright*, D. D., the Rev. *John S. Stone*; Messrs. *Simon Greenleaf*, *Edward Tuckerman*.

RHODE ISLAND—Mr. *Stephen T. Northam*.

CONNECTICUT—The Rev. *Henry Croswell*, D. D.; Mr. *Samuel H. Huntington*.

NEW YORK—The Rev. *Francis L. Hawks*, the Rev. *Manton Eastburn*, the Rev. *William L. Johnson*; Messrs. *Samuel Ward*, *Peter G. Stuyvesant*, *James Swords*.

NEW JERSEY—The Rev. *Clarkson Dunn*, the Rev. *George C. Morehouse*; Mr. *Joseph Sewell*.

PENNSYLVANIA—The Rev. *John W. James*, the Rev. *Stephen H. Tyng*, the the Rev. *Samuel McCoskry*; Messrs. *Charles Wheeler*, *James S. Smith*, *John B. Wallace*.

MARYLAND—The Rev. *William E. Wyatt*, D. D., the Rev. *John Johns*, D. D.; Mr. *John B. Eccleston*.

VIRGINIA—The Rev. *Edward C. McGuire*; Mr. *John Gray*.

NORTH CAROLINA—Mr. *Charles P. Mallett*.

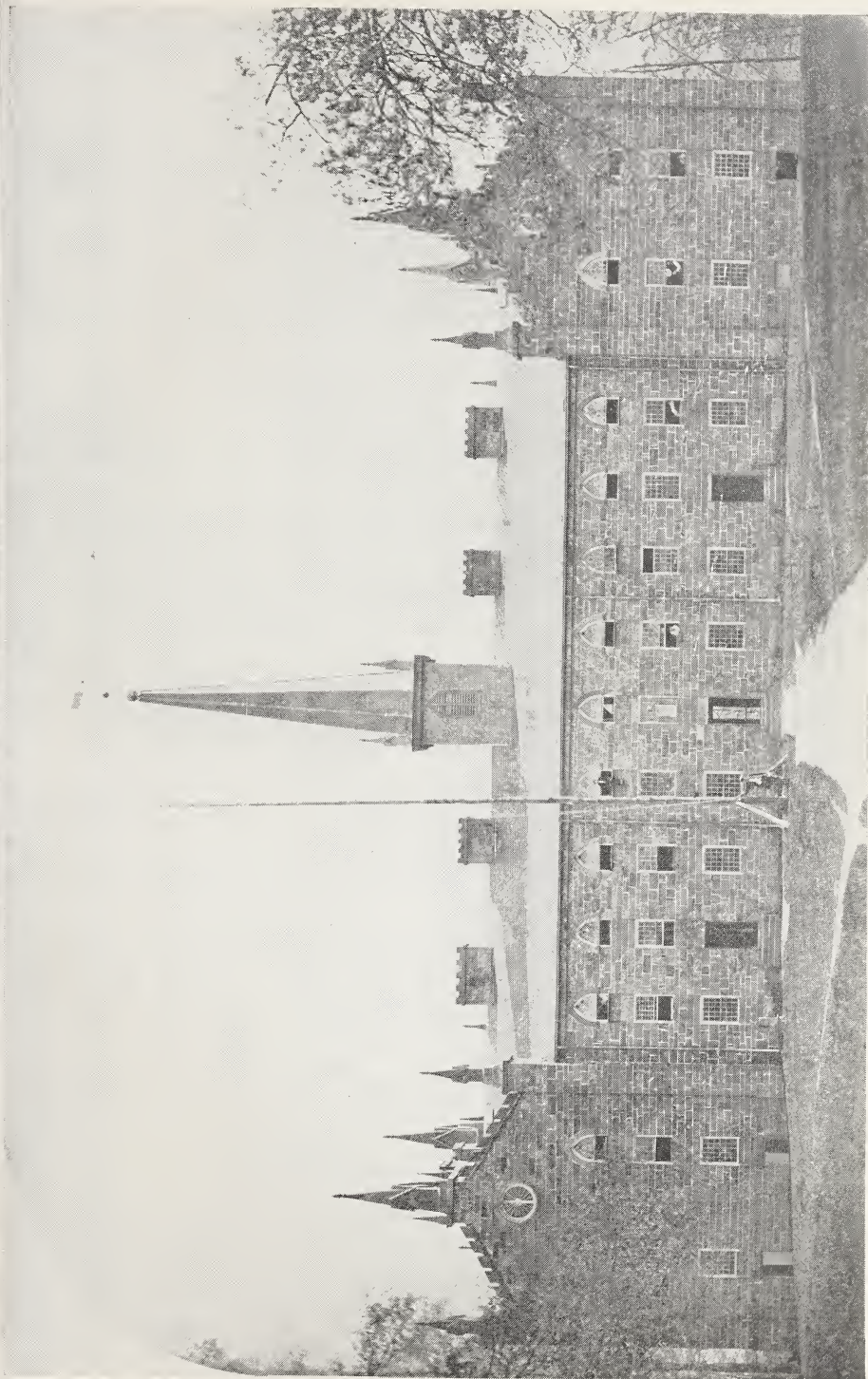
KENTUCKY—*John E. Cook*, M. D.

TENNESSEE—The Rev. *Leonidas Polk*.



OLD KENYON

The words, "Designed & Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash," can be read at the middle left; "Engraved by P. E. Hamm," at the middle right; the place and date, "Philada Decr 14th 1826," at the lower left; the signature, "Philander Chase," at the lower right.



PHILANDER CHASE, NORMAN NASH,
AND CHARLES BULFINCH

A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF OLD KENYON*

By Richard G. Salomon**

Old Kenyon, the oldest of the dormitory halls on the campus of Kenyon College at Gambier, Ohio, has a specific position in the history of American architecture. Built in 1827-1829, completed in its present form in 1834-1836, it represents the first attempt in collegiate gothic in this country.¹

Bishop Philander Chase (December 14, 1775-September 20, 1852), the founder of the college, is also the father of Old Kenyon. It has been told many times how he developed the plans for the institution, how he acquired and cleared the grounds on the hill in the middle of Ohio, how he laid the cornerstone of the building and directed the work from its beginning to a provisional completion.

*I am indebted for valuable and suggestive information to Mr. Guy Study, F. A. I. A., of St. Louis; to Professor Frank Roos, of Ohio State University; to Dean S. R. McGowan, of Kenyon College; to the Rev. Dr. Norman B. Nash, Concord, New Hampshire; to the Rev. A. E. Du Plan, Port Huron, Michigan, and to the Rev. V. A. Weaver and the vestry of St. Mark's Church, Lewistown, Pennsylvania.

A visit to the rich collections of the Church Historical Society in Philadelphia, where I was privileged to have the advice of the Rev. Dr. George W. Lamb, librarian, and Mr. William Ives Rutter, Jr., secretary, brought many valuable results.

Miss Eleanor M. Hickin, librarian of Kenyon College, was helpful far beyond the limits of her duty. The Houghton Mifflin Company in Boston, and the rector, churchwardens and vestry of St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, in Philadelphia, kindly allowed me to make use of passages and picture in books of which they own the copyright.

**Dr. Salomon is professor of ecclesiastical history in Bexley Hall, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.—*Editor's note.*

¹Mary G. Stallworth, *The Development of Secular Gothic Architecture in the United States* (master's dissertation, department of art, University of Chicago, 1925); Agnes Addison, "Early American Gothic," in George Boas (ed.), *Romanticism in America* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 135.

The Dorsey house in Philadelphia and the old state house in Milledgeville, Georgia, both of them older than Old Kenyon, were used for educational institutes, but not intended for that purpose when built.—Addison, *ibid.*, l. c., p. 133f.

A. Granger, in *The American Architect*, Vol. CXXXII (1927), p. 777, mentions Old Kenyon as "probably the first example of what we now proudly call American Architecture."

How much he personally contributed to the purely architectural ideas of the building is still a problem. Many-sided as he was, self-trained in many kinds of activity as his pioneer life required, leading and commanding wherever he worked, he certainly impressed the stamp of his mind on the form of the building. But he did not work single-handed. He consulted the best architects;² he emphasized that "in delineating the plan of this edifice no time nor pains were spared in causing it to combine every convenience which economy could justify."³

When he started his conferences with architects, he must have had some ideas and wishes about the style and form of his building. The plan of Old Kenyon was worked out at the time when the gothic revival, coming from England, began to influence American Church architecture. The first tentative steps in that direction had already been made, touching in their simplicity and naivety yet not deserving the spiteful condemnation which an accomplished master in the renewed style chose to pronounce on them a hundred years later.⁴

It is not necessary in this connection to re-tell the whole story of the gothic revival in America. At present it is a favorite subject of special studies,⁵ and well known in its detail from the time of Thomas Jefferson's toying with the idea of "a small gothic temple," and Latrobe's Crammond House in Philadelphia, to Upjohn's first works.

It is more important for our purpose to state that the idea of gothic architecture, being the Christian style *par excellence*, which idea, for better or for worse, triumphed in the ages of Richard Upjohn and Ralph Adams Cram, began to interest the circles of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the early 1820's. An isolated example was already in existence: the second Trinity Church in New York City, built as early as 1788.⁶ Soon after 1820 the revived style made conquests in various dioceses almost simultaneously: St. Paul's in Buffalo, consecrated in 1819; St. Stephen's in Philadelphia, finished in 1822; Christ Church in Louisville, built in 1823-1824; and St. Luke's Church, Rochester, New York, planned in 1823 and completed in 1825. These are claimed

²Philander Chase, *Defence Against G. M. West* (1831), p. 27.

³From Chase's "Cornerstone Address," in his *Reminiscences*, Vol. I, second edition (1848), p. 517.

⁴Ralph Adams Cram, *The Gothic Quest* (New York, 1907), p. 146.

⁵Agnes Addison, *Romanticism and the Gothic Revival* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938); E. M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939). See the bibliographies in both of the above. Frank J. Roos, *Writings on Early American Architecture* (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1943).

⁶See the picture in Morgan Dix, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, Vol. II, opp. p. 138.

to be among the first, if not the very first, Episcopal churches which adopted in a modest way the gothic style. It is not known whether the admiration which they aroused⁷ was due to this new peculiarity or to other qualities. The early settlers were easily satisfied.

Not too far from Ohio, in Pittsburgh, a true romanticist, John Henry Hopkins, then rector of Trinity Church, later on famous not only as one of the leading bishops but as poet, painter, musician, and writer, was wrestling with the problems of the new gothic style in his own way. Though he did not claim to be more than an amateur, he was more thorough and scholarly in a way than his brethren. The old Trinity Church at Pittsburgh, which he designed in 1825, was, of course, not a purely gothic building, but it shows an honest attempt to apply gothic elements.⁸ Hopkins continued his studies in this field and the book of gothic architecture which he wrote ten years later, did a good deal to popularize the "Christian style."

It is not known whether Philander Chase ever took notice of the work of his neighbors before he went to England in 1823; but he fell in love with the great gothic architecture of the old country at once. In the first days after his arrival in England he saw the cathedral of Manchester, and wrote: "It is built after the Gothic style, and of all things I have ever beheld it has the most solemn effect."⁹ Some months later he reported on the minster at Beverly as "a noble structure of Gothic taste"; and about St. Mary's, also at Beverly, as "an exquisitely fine specimen of ancient Gothic taste."¹⁰ With similar words of praise,

⁷Christ Church was considered a "marvel of architecture for Louisville" (James Craik, *Historical Sketches of Christ Church, Louisville, Kentucky*, 1862, p. 103). Its main gothic feature seems to have been the pulpit, "a gorgeous structure of carved wood and crimson velvet."

St. Luke's at Rochester was "an object of admiration in this new country" (R. B. Claxton, *Parish Memories of Forty Years*, Rochester, New York, 1860, p. 11).

For St. Paul's, Buffalo, see the account of the consecration in Dix, *op. cit.*, III, p. 222; *cp.*, p. 180.

⁸A picture of it is in John Henry Hopkins, *Essay on Gothic Architecture* (Burlington, Vermont, 1836); another one is in John Scarborough, *Farewell Service* (Trinity Church, Pittsburgh), October 3, 1869. From this rare pamphlet (a copy of which is in the General Theological Seminary Library, New York) the farewell verses which Hopkins wrote when he left that parish in 1831 might be repeated here. They show the early gothicists in too characteristic a light to be ignored:

"Farewell, ye pinnaced and buttressed towers,
Ye Gothic lights and arch-crowned pillars high,
Fruits of a zealous heart, though humble powers,
We cannot leave you now without a sigh."

⁹Chase, *Letter to Mrs. Chase*, dated Manchester, Nov. 5, 1823 (the original in Church Historical Society, Philadelphia); *Reminiscences*, I, second ed., p. 218.

¹⁰Chase's *Letter*, Feb. 21, 1834 (original in *ibid.*).

he mentioned Temple Church in his London diary,¹¹ in which he otherwise made hardly any observations in the field of art.

Chase's impressions in England were in harmony with the growing trend within the Church. Combined with each other, these influences produced the idea of imitating, for the first time in America, the English type of gothic college buildings.¹² In later years he spoke of "the semi-Gothic style [of Old Kenyon] as most suitable for an Episcopal Seminary or College," and accused his adversaries on the Hill of having abandoned the gothic plan for another type of college building, "as that savored [to them] too much of Episcopacy."¹³ This was written in 1844 and gives no guarantee that Chase had accepted, twenty years before, the theory of a specific inner relation between churchmanship and gothic architecture; but in any event, the first elevation of Old Kenyon, made in 1826,¹⁴ shows the tendency to create something in this style. The word "semi-Gothic" characterizes the building quite well. The understanding of real gothic had not progressed very far in the 1820's. A pointed arch would suffice, in general, to stamp a building as "gothic."

The question, "Who made this elevation," has been answered in different ways, as will be seen in the following pages. Surprisingly enough, all students of this question overlooked one important source: the signature of this first elevation. It was a question coming from outside of Kenyon that became the starting point of the present study. In April, 1944, Mr. Guy Study, F. A. I. A., an architect in St. Louis and the author of the excellent *History of St. Paul's Church, Alton, Illinois*,¹⁵ asked the present writer about the meaning of the signature:

"Designed & Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash,"

which appears on this oldest picture of Old Kenyon. I could do nothing but state that this name was absolutely strange to the literature on the history of Kenyon, and then try to find the answer. Here it is.

¹¹The original manuscript, a small octavo pocket book, is now in the possession of Kenyon College Library, given by Bishop Chase's descendants.

¹²It is not evident on what Miss Clara Marie Eagle, *An Investigation of Knox County Architecture* (thesis, Ohio State University, 1939), based her statement that Christ Church College, Oxford, was the prototype for Old Kenyon. The similarity is very slight.

¹³*Reminiscences*, Vol. II (first edition), p. 781f. Not repeated in the second edition.

¹⁴See Plate I, frontispiece of this article.

¹⁵Published in St. Louis, 1943.

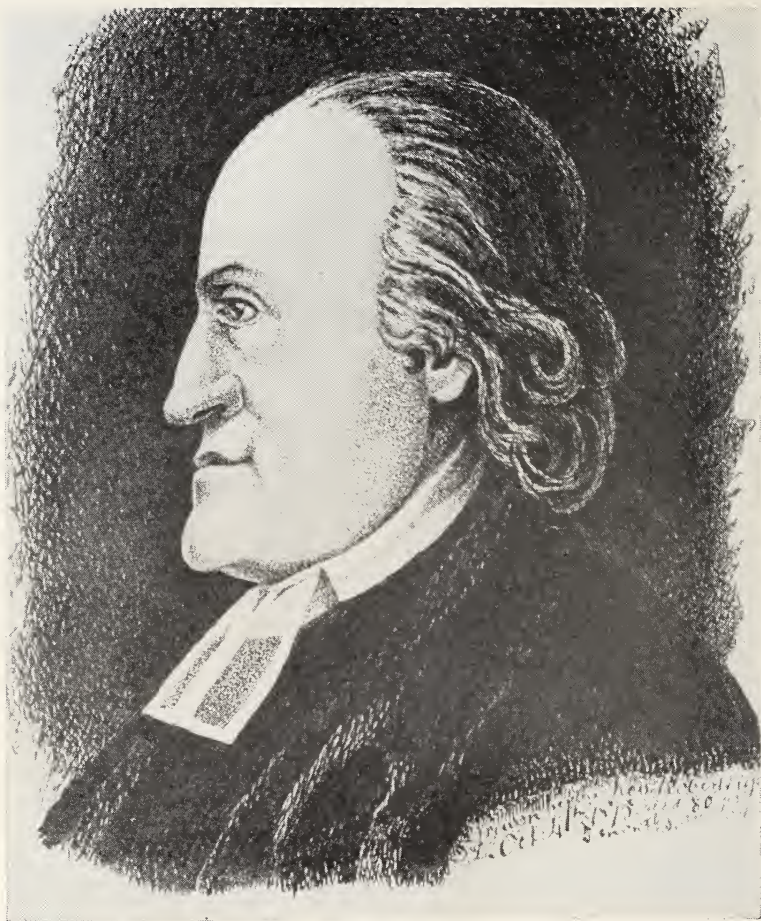


Plate 3

Drawn by Robert Figgot

THE REVEREND NORMAN NASH
November 17, 1790-November 11, 1870

[Reproduced from F. S. Edmonds, *History of St. Matthew's Church, Franciscville, Philadelphia* (1925), by courtesy of the Rector, Churchwardens and Vestry of that parish. See Below, Footnote No. 23.]

THE REVEREND NORMAN NASH

NOVEMBER 17, 1790—NOVEMBER 11, 1870

My studies were rewarded by my becoming acquainted with an unusual character in the early history of the Episcopal Church. His life story is interesting enough to be told here at some length.

Like Philander Chase, Norman Nash¹⁶ came from New England stock. He was born in Ellington, Connecticut, on November 17, 1790, as the youngest son of Ebenezer and Susannah Nash, distant relatives of the famous Father Nash (Daniel Nash), who was such an outstanding pioneer in the planting of the Church in upstate New York.

Norman Nash does not seem to have had much of a regular education. Later in life, when asked where he acquired his knowledge, he would answer: "In the chimney corner, by the fire light, when I could not afford to buy candles." He was early interested in mechanics. A friend reports that at the age of eighteen Nash published a "work for young mechanics," which, unfortunately, has not yet been found in any library. Also, he studied medicine for some time at Springfield, Massachusetts; at least enough to enable him to work as a practitioner in later life. He was already about thirty years old when he started to attend prayer meetings in Philadelphia. Under the guidance of the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, rector of St. Paul's Church in that city, he experienced conversion from indifference to serious belief, which was so typical of his generation.

He received something of a "religious education" in Clinton College, New York. How far he went in theological studies is hard to say. Theoretically, postulants were required in those days, before the foundation of theological seminaries, to read under the direction of a trustworthy clergyman; but this was not always the case. An anecdote from Nash's life, told among his friends, seems to indicate that his entry into the ministry was irregular. He started as a lay reader, with a license

¹⁶Sylvester Nash, *The Nash Family* (Hartford, 1853), p. 80, No. 410. F. S. Edmonds, *History of St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1925), pp. 47-52. Norman Nash, *A Letter to the Executive Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, William Stavely, 1827), pp. 8. (copy in the library of the General Theological Seminary, New York). William L. Jenks, *St. Clair County, Michigan: Its History and Its People* (Chicago, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 338f, 400f. *Historical Collections: Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, Vol. XXIX (Lansing, 1901), pp. 182f, 189. *Port Huron Weekly Times*, November 18, 1870 (obituary).

Journals of diocesan conventions: Virginia, 1820-1822 (esp. 1822, p. 21); *Pennsylvania, 1823-1830* (esp. 1823, pp. 10, 20, 29; 1824, pp. 27, 34; 1825, pp. 12, 35; 1826 special convention, pp. 5, 10, 34; 1828, pp. 5, 15, 52; 1830, p. 11); *New Jersey, 1830-1862* (esp. 1830, p. 12; 1833, p. 13; 1834, p. 19), and 1871, p. 122.

Also, the lists in *The Churchman's Almanac, 1830-1871*.

from Bishop Richard Channing Moore, of Virginia; but the bishop found him trespassing the limits of his readership by adding of his own to the sermons which he was permitted to read, and made it understood that he could not preach without "a course of studies" and ordination. "Bishop," replied Nash, "I feel it my duty to engage in this work. If, while I am pursuing my studies, I should be called away, and the Lord should say to me: 'Norman Nash, did I not call you to preach my Gospel?', and I should answer, 'Yes, Lord,' and He should ask, 'Why have you not done it?', and I should answer, 'My Bishop has prescribed a certain course of studies before I may proceed on the work Thou hast assigned me,'—what then?" Bishop Moore was gracious. The tradition exaggerates a little perhaps when it makes him answer to Nash's blunt question: "Brother Nash, I will ordain you"; but, at any rate, he ordained Nash deacon on April 2, 1820.¹⁷

For two years Nash remained in missionary work in the diocese of Virginia, and established "two respectable churches" in Hampshire County. In 1822 he returned to Philadelphia and became canonically connected with the diocese of Pennsylvania. He joined the evangelical group, which centered around Pilmore's successor, the Rev. Benjamin Allen, one of Philander Chase's friends.¹⁸ In this circle of younger clergy, his intellectual versatility and his capacity for fluent speaking, combined with his maturity in years, gave him a respected position. They listened to him "like docile pupils to a learned professor." In his clerical service his main interest was in missionary work. Being somewhat restless by nature, he liked to do the groundwork in establishing new communities and let others carry on. He would not engage, as he told one of his friends with slight exaggeration, to stay in any place ten days. So his life in the following years was checkered enough.

First, he put himself at the disposal of Allen's "Female Protestant Episcopal Organization of Penn Township," in order to found a community mission church in North West Philadelphia. Thus he became the founder of St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, "minister and superintendent of the building" of what is now the center of an urban congregation, at Girard Avenue and 18th Street. The cornerstone of the first building, laid on October 17, 1822, and dug out when the second church was built in 1864, included a note with Nash's name and a book of Scripture references compiled by him.

In 1823 Nash went further west, in the service of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania, and visited vacant congregations on the Juniata River in Huntingdon, Mifflin, and Juniata

¹⁷George Burgess, *List of Persons admitted to the Order of Deacons* (Boston, 1875), p. 11.

¹⁸Thomas G. Allen, *Memoir of the Rev. Benjamin Allen* (Philadelphia, 1832). See especially p. 299.



Plate 4

**ST. MARK'S CHURCH
LEWISTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA**

Built in 1823 by Norman Nash; the front was rebuilt in 1869

[From a photograph, dated 1869, reproduced by the courtesy of the Rev. V. A. Weaver, Rector, and the Vestry of the parish.]

Counties. A year later he reported on the construction of churches for the congregations of St. John's at Huntingdon and of St. Mark's at Lewiston. The latter, for which the cornerstone was laid on August 26, 1823, he describes as "an elegant brick building in the Gothic style." This building, one of the earliest examples of gothic church architecture in America, or of what in the 1820's was understood by that name, is no longer in existence. An enlargement made about 1870 caused a considerable change in the outer aspect.¹⁹ In 1890 it was replaced by a more modern building.

Before St. Mark's was consecrated in October, 1824, Nash, restless as always, had already left his congregation and signed up with the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, which had been finally organized three years before. Nash was one of the very first missionaries of the Society, and his assignment promised a real missionary adventure. He was appointed superintendent of the mission to the Oneida Indians at Green Bay, Wisconsin, then part of Michigan Territory, to which the Oneidas had recently been moved from New York State. He did not leave Philadelphia for his new station until the early summer of 1825. In the meantime, he had been ordained priest a few days before Christmas, 1824, by Bishop White; and, in the company of the Rev. James Montgomery of the executive committee of the Society, he had visited the secretary of war in Washington in order to gain his interest in Indian affairs. Nothing came of this at the time, but in 1828 the government granted \$1,000 for three years, and \$1,500 a year after, for educational work at Green Bay; but at the end of three years the board gave up the grant on the principle that "in no way is our Mission identified with the Government of the country."

The history of Nash's mission in Wisconsin is short and unpleasant. He arrived in August, 1825, and took possession of a vacant house in a poor state. "As he possessed a considerable knowledge of practical mechanics," he undertook the repair work himself and was accused of neglecting his spiritual duties in favor of technical hobbies. A member of his little staff, Albert G. Ellis, a teacher of whose appointment Nash did not approve, relates that Nash "occupied himself with his studies and sundry amusements, portrait painting and boat building."²⁰ Nash felt himself neglected by the Society. His letters and inquiries remained unanswered. After less than a year he left his post and returned to

¹⁹Fortunately an old picture has survived which gives at least an approximate idea of how Nash's original building looked (see Plate 4). It is a photograph, now in the possession of the parish, taken in 1869, immediately after the enlargement was finished. The front is new (see the anonymous *History of That Part of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys Embraced in the Counties of Mifflin, etc.*, Vol. I, Philadelphia, 1866, p. 522), and there is no saying how far it copied the old one; but the side wall, partly visible under the tree to the left, is an unchanged remainder of Nash's original work.

Philadelphia, where he arrived at the end of June, 1826, evidently in order to clear the situation.

For almost a year he was in painful struggle with his employers. The atmosphere in Philadelphia was tense anyway, with a fierce controversy going on over the election of an assistant bishop for the aged Bishop White. Bitter strife between the parties revolved around the two candidates, William Meade, of Virginia, and Bird Wilson, of Philadelphia. Nash, an outspoken evangelical, did a good deal of electioneering for Meade, and by this embittered even more his critics on the board of missions.

A trip in the East, which he undertook for the Society in 1827 for the purpose of collecting money, ended with costs higher than results. The Society spoke of misplaced confidence, and uttered doubts about Nash's capacity and fidelity; they accused him of insatiable demands for money, of putting his ecclesiastical party interests over his missionary duties; and even threatened to present him for trial for what, in those times, really seems to have been a misdemeanor on the part of a clergyman: "for putting up at a public, instead of a private, boarding house."

After long bickering in this style, the board of directors in May, 1827, passed a resolution: "That the Rev. Mr. Nash be employed by the Executive Committee in any other missionary operation for which they may think him adapted." Nash, deeply hurt by this indirect condemnation of his work at Green Bay, now took refuge in publicity and wrote his only known printed work, a pamphlet of eight pages: *A Letter to the Executive Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. This letter is quite in style: it is as irritated in tone and as verbose as the hundreds of clerical pamphlets of that period, which are now stored and rarely read in seminary libraries; "uncharitable, presuming and defamatory," as his opponents called it. Nash told his version of the story, complained about the practices of the Society, about insufficient financial equipment, and about the attempts to send him on a fool's errand and to intimidate him. He ended with the statement that, since the Green Bay project had been declared impracticable, his engagement with the Society terminated, of course. This declaration is dated May 23, 1827.²¹

²⁰A. G. Ellis, "Recollections," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIV, pp. 450f.

²¹The sources for the story as told here are Nash's pamphlet, and, for the presentation of the affair from the other side, in the *Proceedings* of the Missionary Society of October, 1827: the report about a special meeting, which was almost exclusively concerned with the Green Bay Mission. This issue of the *Proceedings* is the answer to Nash's pamphlet and is equally partisan. The *Proceedings* of a previous meeting, held in May, 1827, in which the Nash affair was amply discussed, remained unprinted.

Nash found an appointment as rector of St. Luke's Church, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, this same year, but gave it up in October following. For the next few years he is listed as "residing in Philadelphia," evidently without a cure. In 1830 he transferred to the diocese of New Jersey and became rector of Trinity Church, Swedesboro. This appointment lasted for the comparatively long period of four years, and then ended as unpleasantly as his relations with the Missionary Society. In 1834 he was entangled in a conflict with his vestry, the subject of which is not mentioned in our sources. It was, however, grave enough to necessitate the intervention of the bishop, George Washington Doane.

On March 19th, in accordance with canon 34 of the General Convention, the bishop convoked a council of the clergy, which, "after a full and patient investigation of the subject, was unanimous that the controversy had 'proceeded such lengths as to preclude all hopes of its favorable termination, and that a dissolution of the connexion which existed between them, was indispensably necessary to ensure the peace and promote the prosperity of the Church.'"²² Nash agreed to the termination of his appointment by June 20th, "in presence of the Council," but he nevertheless left with a grudge, "deeming himself most unjustly and tyrannically persecuted by the Bishop of New Jersey."

By this time Nash was in his forty-fourth year. For the remainder of his long life he never held a cure. Without severing his canonical connection with the diocese of New Jersey, he virtually retired into private life. His name was carried on the clergy lists of the diocese until 1860, invariably without indication of a cure or an address. In 1861 the censorious remark, "absent without leave," was added, and repeated in 1862; then the name was dropped.

Meanwhile, Nash had started a new life. In 1836 he settled for good, again far out in what was still half a wilderness, at Port Huron, Michigan. Somehow he had secured a Presidential appointment as teacher and missionary under the Indian agent of the district, with a salary of \$400 per year, which, however, he never received. He seems to have done some teaching among the Indians, but soon after his arrival they were removed. Yet Nash remained in his place, and became a popular figure among the pioneer settlers. Although he had no canonical connection with the diocese of Michigan, he held free religious services occasionally; preached at Clyde Mills, Fort Gratiot, and other places in the neighborhood; and officiated at weddings and funerals from Lake St. Clair to the farthest settlement on Lake Huron.

Nash made a living by running a ferry over the St. Clair River,

²²G. W. Doane, "Episcopal Address," in *Journal* of the Diocese of New Jersey, 1834, p. 19. Canon 34 of the General Convention of 1832 was repealed in 1859, restored in 1871 after many changes, and since 1943 has been numbered canon 45.

between Port Huron and Sarnia on the Canadian side, for which he practically held a monopoly, together with one Nicholas Ayrault, granted by an act of the Michigan state legislature in March, 1837. He also made use of his knowledge of medicine, and since there was no regular physician in the place, he was often called on for help by the settlers, to whom he became "Dr. Nash" rather than "Rev. Sir."

He built himself a little house, a "diminutive castle" with a tower (perhaps in reminiscence of his "gothic" days in Lewistown) in the midst of woods, where now is downtown Port Huron. There he lived for about thirty years as a serene and contented old bachelor, among rarely cleaned-away heaps of dust, always busy with reading, chemical experiments, tinkering with gadgets, and playing his old bass viol. It would be interesting to know whether young Thomas Alva Edison, who lived at Port Huron in Nash's later years, ever found his way into the den of the old experimenter. Young people looked up with rather weird feelings to the mysterious old man with the long locks clustering about his neck, and with the old-fashioned long frock coat.²³

Enjoying the universal respect of his fellow citizens, Nash died on November 11, 1870. The local paper published an obituary in the delightfully flowery style of the time: "The old ship, which has withstood the storms of eighty winters, has succumbed."

The local rector, the Rev. William Stowe, reported Nash's death to Bishop Odenheimer of New Jersey. So Nash's name shows up once more in the journals of the diocese from which he had been "absent without leave" so incomparably long: the bishop in his address to the convention of 1871 mentioned Nash's death.

Whether all the data given in his obituaries are correct or not, and though it may be doubtful that he was in some sort a universal genius, as an old friend called him after his death, he certainly was a many-sided man. He was capable in almost any kind of handicraft in a pioneerish way: he made optical instruments, artificial teeth, and im-

²³The portrait of Norman Nash (*see* Plate 3) was drawn, according to the inscription, "by the Rev. Robert Piggot, D. D., October 4, 1875; aged 80 years, 5 months." This was five years after Nash's death, and Piggot worked from memory, after not having seen Nash for many years. The picture, however, agrees well with the description of Nash's exterior as given in Jenks' *History of St. Clair County*, on which the text above has drawn.

ROBERT PIGGOT (May 20, 1795-July 23, 1887) was a stipple engraver before he entered the ministry. After an apprenticeship with David Edwin of Philadelphia, he formed a partnership with his fellow student, Charles Goodman, and their works were signed Goodman & Piggot. Piggot was ordained deacon November 30, 1823, and priest, May 11, 1825, both ordinations being by Bishop White. He succeeded Nash at St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, and at Lewistown, and had been in close touch with Nash during the latter's years in Philadelphia. [*See Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIV, p. 592; D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers*, I, p. 217; and the list of works, *ibid.*, Vol. II, Nos. 2542-2544.]

provements in steam engines. He is also said to have invented an alphabet, with a character for every sound in the English language, and another alphabet for Indians, which allegedly was used in some printed books.

Tradition in the Nash family has it that "he was responsible for building a number of churches in Michigan." A lifelong interest in architecture would fit in very well with his early liking for the upcoming gothic manner, and with that little romantic addition of the tower to his modest home in Port Huron. It is possible that his advice was sought in the construction of the first building of Grace Church, Port Huron,—a "very neat Gothic building, with open roof," as the rector called it in 1854.²⁴ But in the 1850's the preference for the gothic style was already so general that, even without his advice, the vestry would probably have decided on a building in that style.

This was the man who, by a mere chance, became instrumental in the creation of Old Kenyon.

CHASE AND NASH

Philander Chase and Norman Nash met for the first time when Chase came to Philadelphia in the beginning of November, 1826, and stayed there for about two months. It was the time of Nash's fight with the Missionary Society. Chase had just bought the land for the college on the hill, near Mount Vernon, Ohio, and was beginning to ponder on the plans for the building.

It was a godsend to him that, just at this moment, he came across a man who had already tried his hand at gothic architecture. Chase lived in Philadelphia in Benjamin Allen's house, where Nash was an intimate friend. The bishop evidently had no difficulty in interesting Nash in his plans and putting him to work, for, after a few weeks, about the middle of December, 1826, the first elevation of the planned college building,²⁵ with Nash's name on it, was already being printed. If we discount the time needed by the engraver for the plate work, at least two weeks, it is certain that the drawing was made some time in November, 1826.²⁶

The first engraving, then, represents Old Kenyon as its founder

²⁴*Journal of the diocese of Michigan*, 1854, p. 60.

²⁵See frontispiece to this article, Plate 1.

²⁶The dedication on the first picture has the date December 14, 1826. On December 19, Chase sent the first unfinished copy still without the inscription, to Lord Kenyon (*See below*, Appendix I). Before the end of the year, the whole issue, with inscriptions, was ready for shipment (*Chase to Lord Kenyon*, January 3, 1827; Kenyon College Library, Chase-Kenyon Letter Book). December 14th is the day on which Chase drafted the dedication, not the day on which the design was ready.

expected it to look when finished. It is easily seen by the comparison of Nash's drawing (Plate 1, *frontispiece*) and the photograph of the building (Plate 2, opp. *frontispiece*) that the original plan underwent considerable change, as it had to, under the impact of practical requirements. Neither Chase nor Nash was a trained architect. They started with the facade, without giving much thought to what was to be behind it. It would be too much to expect functional concepts of architecture from gentlemen-architects of the 1820's. It is rather astonishing how much of the original plan became reality when the work was carried out. The middle part was built approximately as originally planned but for the addition of windows over the three doors. The two huge wings which were to give the building the form of an H, fortunately never materialized. Instead, the short wings, protruding only a little beyond the middle front, were added in the 1830's, after Chase had left Gambier. But the old first drawing outlasted these changes as the popular picture of Kenyon. It was copied and published time and again, both in America and abroad, until about 1850.²⁷

The plan as shown in this picture is the product of cooperation between Chase and Nash. It is not possible to measure the share of either one exactly. The inscription, "Designed & Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash," seems, offhand, to claim the whole as Nash's work. A trifling detail, however, found in Chase's letters, prove that he was not originally willing to allow Nash that much credit. On December 19, 1826, the bishop sent Lord Kenyon the first copy of the picture on which the lettering was still missing. He accompanied it by a letter in which he gave the wording of the planned dedication exactly as it is found in the printed copies:

"This view of Kenyon College, Ohio, is most affectionately inscribed to the Benefactors thereof both in England and America by their most grateful and faithful Friend Philander Chase, 14th December A. D., 1826,"

but under this date it reads only:

"Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash."²⁸

This clearly intends to put Nash into the position of a mere technician, a draftsman. On closer inspection, however, it appears that Chase started writing "Designed . . . ," and then blotted this word out, re-

²⁷The college library of Kenyon has a full collection of these pictures. The typewritten catalogue of this collection might well be published some time.

²⁸The original letter and the accompanying unfinished copy of the picture are now in the possession of Kenyon College Library (Chase Letter Book). See the full text of the letter in Appendix I, below.

placing it by "Drawn." This shows that he himself, at least, had some doubts about the distribution of credits. In the final printed form the words, "Designed & Drawn," are re-established. There is no indication in the sources as to whether this was the result of a discussion between the two men, whether Nash ever heard about the bishop's first intention and insisted on his rights, or whether Chase raised and settled these scruples for himself.

We have no other testimonial about the origins of this first plan of Old Kenyon. It stands to reason that Nash, when he designed the building, had to consider the ideas of his employer, as every architect has to do, and there is no saying how far he reproduced or changed them. It is true that Chase in all his writings, his letters as well as his *Reminiscences*, never mentioned Nash's participation in the work,²⁹ but he added a copy of the picture with Nash's name on it to each copy of the second edition of the *Reminiscences*, and this suffices as a proof that he acknowledged Nash's claim to an essential part in the work. An additional proof of this is the fact that Chase never claimed to be the author himself. When in 1830 the board of trustees celebrated him as an "architect," he could accept that compliment as a reward for his having directed the construction work from the laying of the cornerstone to the finishing of the roof.

Nash's work for Old Kenyon began and ended with his making this first drawing. He had no share in working out the detail of the plan or in making the working drawings. Personally, he remained in contact with the bishop for some time more. During his stay in Allen's house, Chase became sick and developed a tumor on the hip, which Nash, in his capacity as a lay physician, cured with a "diadrink of roots"³⁰—poor bishop! Probably at the same time, Nash sold to the bishop about one hundred dollars worth of "philosophical apparatus," i. e., scientific instruments which helped to form the basis for the laboratories of Kenyon College.³¹ In 1828 or 1829 he sent one of his nephews to Gambier and sustained him in the preparatory school.³²

²⁹The name was perhaps mentioned in the papers which were enclosed in the cornerstone of Old Kenyon; but the list of articles deposited there (Kenyon College Library, Chase Papers 270609) gives no clear indication. In his *Reminiscences*, Vol I, 2nd edition, p. 516, Chase only states that "the engraving of this building had been taken at the East," without mention of either designer or engraver.

³⁰Philander Chase, Letters to his wife, Philadelphia, January 1 and 6, 1827 (K. C. L., Chase Papers 27010b and 270106). "Diadrink" is an old-fashioned word for medicine.

³¹*Journal of the diocese of Ohio*, 1828, p. 29.

³²This was Norman Badger, later on head of the preparatory department of the college at Milnor Hall; in 1848, proprietor and publisher of the *Western Episcopalian*. [See S. Nash, *The Nash Family* (Hartford, 1853), p. 144.] Some years later, 1837, one Rodolphus Nash appeared in the student list of Kenyon College, coming from Ellington, Connecticut, Norman Nash's birthplace, certainly a relative of his. There is no proof that Norman Nash caused him to go to Gambier, but it is possible.

It seems likely that Chase and Nash understood one another pretty well. There is a certain similarity in the two men: both of them were of the pioneer and missionary type, interested and competent in many fields of human activity, fond of technical work, of "doing things" with their hands, of venturing on experiments, and not afraid of conflicts. What they drafted together, though certainly no masterpiece, is solid and respectable. Recently a well known American architect wrote: "Old Kenyon looks like Bishop Chase, like a he-man all right." A comparison, however, between the row of windows in the front of Old Kenyon and those on the side wall of St. Mark's Church, Lewistown (*compare* Plate 1, frontispiece, and Plate 4), seems to prove that there is something of Norman Nash in the looks of Old Kenyon.

Bishop Chase was highly pleased with the plan. He expected it to afford more convenience than any other building he ever saw, and, if carried into complete effect, to earn more admiration than any other building in the United States.³³ Criticism was not welcome. When William Sparrow, Chase's brother-in-law, and then still on the best of terms with him, ventured to remark that the building should be less compact, and that the planned two wings might be cut off from the body and placed apart—a suggestion which was meant to eliminate some very evident weaknesses of the plan—the bishop "took offence" at the mere idea.³⁴

There is no evidence as to how he felt about the building after it had been finished in its present form, abandoning the original plan. After he left Gambier he became a severe critic of everything that was done in Kenyon. It stands to reason that he was hardly less bitter about the change in this plan, which he thought so perfect, than he was about the replacement of his "gothic" plans for the college chapel by the "Grecian order," which was adopted by his successors in that work.³⁵

THE BULFINCH TRADITION

In contrast to the facts stated thus far, a tradition has survived in Kenyon College which ascribes the construction of Old Kenyon to the great American architect of the early 19th century, Charles Bulfinch (August 8, 1763-April 4, 1844).³⁶ This would link up the old college building with other proud monuments of American architecture: the State House and Faneuil Hall in Boston, and with the Capitol in Wash-

³³K. C. L., Chase Papers 270802; Chase, *Reminiscences*, II (2nd ed), p. 535.

³⁴William Sparrow, *A Reply to the Charges and Accusations of the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase* (Gambier, 1832), p. 19.

³⁵G. F. Smythe, *Kenyon College: Its First Century* (New Haven, 1924), p. 316.

³⁶For Bulfinch, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, pp. 245-247, and additional references which follow below.

ington. The late George F. Smythe, in his history of Old Kenyon, stressed these "distinguished affinities" of our oldest hall, and mentioned "the magnificent design which Charles Bulfinch had contributed" for Kenyon College.³⁷ Smythe certainly was aware of the fact, though he did not mention it, that there is no drawing or sketch of Old Kenyon signed with Bulfinch's name. He evidently took the early engraving, which he reproduced in his book,³⁸ as the copy of a lost original drawing made by Bulfinch. He did not indicate, however, any reason for this assumption.

Outside of Ohio the tradition gained a certain publicity through an article written by a famous modern architect who was in close touch with the college, the late Alfred Granger, who built the college commons, Peirce Hall. In this article Granger went even a step farther: he not only credited Bulfinch with the design for Old Kenyon, but declared it "quite possible that Bishop Chase must (*sic*) have secured the help of Bulfinch in laying out the plan not only of the College park but of the village" of Gambier.³⁹ This hypothesis, however flattering it might be to the civic pride of the town of Gambier, must be discarded, since it is based on nothing but imagination.

The Ohio Guide, published by the Writers' Project in 1940, accepted the tradition, either on Smythe's or Granger's authority. It contains a picture of the building with the caption: "Old Kenyon. Charles Bulfinch, architect."

An undercurrent of mistrust against the tradition, however, made itself felt once in a while. There was the unquestionable fact that the expansive literature on Bulfinch nowhere mentioned Kenyon. In 1935 an attempt was made to clarify the situation. The manuscript material in the college library, especially the rich collection of the Chase Papers, was consulted, and research was carried on in other libraries, but without decisive result. It was probably in consequence of this that an official publication of the college in 1937 toned down the tradition. It accompanied a picture of Old Kenyon with the remark that the impressive design was "suggested" by Charles Bulfinch. Two years later Miss Clara Maria Eagle, in her master's thesis,⁴⁰ for which she had

³⁷Smythe, *op. cit.*, pp. 310, 87.

³⁸Smythe, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 68. This picture, however, is not the oldest one in existence. It is only a very exact copy, made in England in 1827, of the first one which was engraved by P. E. Hamm in Philadelphia in 1826 (*see* Plate 1, frontispiece). This original engraving, listed by D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers*, II (New York, 1907), p. 211, no. 1259, is rare. Individual copies are in the Kenyon College Library, and in the Library of Congress; others are in the *Christian Remembrancer*, Vol. IX (London, 1827), p. 564.

³⁹Alfred Granger, "An Architectural Oasis," in *The American Architect*, Vol. CXXXII (1927), pp. 771-778.

⁴⁰C. M. Eagle, *An Investigation of Knox County Architecture* (Ohio State University, 1939, machine script).

made studies at Kenyon, stated categorically: "Nothing in the papers of Bulfinch or Chase suggests Bulfinch's authorship," and she was willing to credit Chase alone for the plan.

Thus the Bulfinch tradition seemed to vanish in the fogs of legend. But there was Smythe's word for it, and no reader familiar with his work and aware of his exactness in detail, would easily assume that he accepted mere hearsay as evidence. It was more likely that he had a real source. And, indeed, so it was, and only a most unfortunate coincidence had hindered the recent investigators from finding it.⁴¹ The source was nothing else than Philander Chase's own *Reminiscences*. There in the second volume, page 37, Chase reprinted a letter of his to Lord Gambier, dated June 11, 1829, which contains a long description of the building. Chase describes the thick walls, the roof with its unusual mass of timber, and the steeple. Then he adds:

"The draft was made for me by our national architect, Mr. Bulfinch, of Washington, D. C."⁴²

This looks like the missing link: the bishop himself certifies Bulfinch's authorship.⁴³ Could anything be more authoritative?

On closer consideration, however, this formula, which seemingly solves the problem, creates a new one. How is it possible to account for the contradiction of the two facts: In 1826 the bishop confirmed with his signature the authenticity of a draft which purports to be "Designed & Drawn by the Rev. N. Nash;" three years later, he told Lord Gambier that the great Bulfinch made it? And more than that: in 1848, when he printed the letter for the second time, he directed the reader to a picture with Nash's name on it.

⁴¹In order not to seem secretive about the "coincidence," I shall tell what happened: My predecessors in this research evidently overlooked the fact that the two copies of the *Reminiscences*, which were at the disposal of the readers in the reference room of the college library, were equally defective; unfortunately, just the decisive pages (Vol. II, pp. 35-38) were missing. I had the advantage of working with another copy which is complete, and of seeing the annotated personal copy of Smythe's book, which, though available in the college library, was rarely consulted.

⁴²In the rare first edition of the *Reminiscences* (1844), the letter is on p. 641. The second edition adds the note "(see plate)," meaning the frontispiece of the volume, which is a reproduction of Nash's drawing.

⁴³Philander Chase's son, Dudley Chase (1816-1907), in his unprinted *Memoir of Bishop Philander Chase* (the original manuscript is in the collections of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia; clean copy, with interesting pictures, in Kenyon College Library) also states that the plan "was drawn by the Government Architect in Washington in 1826 and engraved in Philadelphia" (p. 153 in the C. H. S. ms.). This looks like a confirmation of Chase's own statement by an independent witness. Dudley Chase attended as a boy the cornerstone ceremony at Kenyon in 1827, and could have acquired some knowledge of the facts by word of mouth. Closer analysis, however, shows that his narrative in this part of his work, as in many others, is exclusively based on his father's *Reminiscences*. So it cannot be considered as additional evidence.

Mala fides is out of the question: the assumption would under-rate the bishop's character as well as his intelligence. It is likely that some mistake is behind one of the statements. But which?

Philander Chase's *Reminiscences* are largely a compilation of his old correspondence. He had carefully kept the original letters of his friends, the numerous letters which he wrote to his wife on his travels, and many drafts of his letters to other people. This collection is now in Kenyon College Library under the name of the "Chase Papers." A comparison of the printed text with the manuscripts shows that very often he incorporated the original letters into the manuscript of his *Reminiscences*. On many of these letters which he put back into the collection after they had been printed, his directions to the printer are still visible. In some cases, however, the originals were copied—either by himself or by somebody else—for the printer, and on this occasion mistakes crept in here and there, as they are likely to do in such cases.

Among the Chase Papers there is the original draft of the bishop's letter to Lord Gambier, in Chase's own hand—three little sheets of paper, so brittle and damaged that, at some recent time, they had to be mounted on silk for conservation.⁴⁴ It can be proved that these three little sheets belonged to that group which did not go to the printer, but were copied for him.⁴⁵ Now a comparison of the text printed in the *Reminiscences* and that of the original draft, a comparison which apparently was never made before, not even by Chase himself when he read the proofs of his book, had an astonishing result. There is the description of the walls, the roof, and the steeple, in the same words as in the printed text. But, in the manuscript, the last sentences read:

"The steeple is in good proportion, high and beautiful. The draft *of it* was made for me by our national architect, Mr. Bulfinch of the City of Washington."

Here was the solution of the riddle. It was not the draft of the building, but the draft of the spire alone, "of it," that Bulfinch had contributed. Two words, of two letters each, had escaped the attention of the copyist, and this little mishap had created what we now can call the Bulfinch Legend.

Now the situation is clear. The two statements of Bishop Chase are no longer contradictory. The original draft of 1826 is Nash's, and

⁴⁴K. C. L., Chase Papers 290611.

⁴⁵The full text of the passage involved, in a "critical edition," is given below as Appendix II. It will easily be seen from the notes that between the original draft and the text of the *Reminiscences*, there was a copy with some changes in it.

his property; and Bulfinch contributed nothing but a change in the project, though a conspicuous one, as confirmed by a comparison of the shape of the spire as it appears on the Nash drawing (Plate 1) and as it was eventually built (Plate 2). The Nash spire is thick and heavy with its low basis; the Bulfinch spire shows the master's hand in its lofty elegance. The bishop was aware of this when he stressed the "good proportion."

CHASE AND BULFINCH

With this the way is opened for the inevitable question: How, where, and when did it happen that Bulfinch became willing to cooperate in Chase's project? Fortunately, the material is rich enough to make an answer possible.

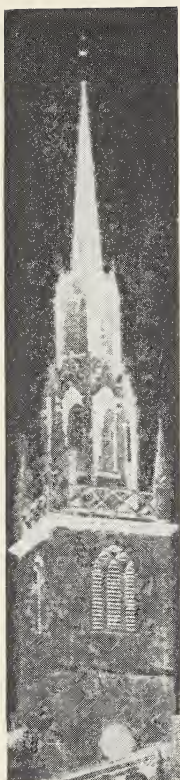
At first glance it seems surprising that Bulfinch, the staunch classicist, should have had his hand in the construction of a building in the new gothic style. As a matter of fact, he had more than a bowing acquaintance with gothic. It is known that he owned and annotated the epoch-making *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, published in 1800 by Watson, Bentham and others, and that among his works is one early attempt at gothic construction—the former Federal Street Church in Boston, completed in 1809. The contemporaries, as well as later students of Bulfinch's art, treated this attempt "to introduce something new among us"⁴⁶ rather condescendingly. The standard work on Bulfinch acknowledges, however, that at least the tower of this only gothic church that Bulfinch ever built is closer to the gothic type than many others.⁴⁷ The spire of Old Kenyon (Plate 2) appears to bear some resemblance to the older one of the Federal Street Church (Plate 5). The former was Bulfinch's only return to the gothic after 1809.⁴⁸

The question, when and where Chase and Bulfinch met, has been touched on by Smythe. Since Bulfinch was tied down in Washington by his official position as architect of the Capitol and Chase traveled extensively, it was most likely that the meeting happened during one of Chase's visits to the capital. Smythe assumed that the bishop saw the architect there in February, 1826, and that he had the drawing made

⁴⁶Bulfinch's mother, in a letter of July, 1809, in *Bulfinch's Life and Letters*, by his granddaughter, E. S. Bulfinch (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1896), p. 168.

⁴⁷Charles A. Place, *Charles Bulfinch, Architect and Citizen* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1925), pp. 141, 145.

⁴⁸It might be added here that when he was in charge of the Capitol building in Washington, high administration officers, taken in by the new architectural mode, suggested raising the Capitol dome "higher in Gothic form." Bulfinch rejected the ideas as "too inconsistent with the style of the building to be at all thought of by me." See J. M. Howells, in *The American Architect and Building News*, Vol. XLIII (1908), p. 199.



**THE SPIRE OF THE FEDERAL
STREET CHURCH
BOSTON**

**The only Gothic Church that
Charles Bulfinch ever built. It
was completed in 1809.**

[From a photograph at the Bostonian Society. Reprinted from Charles A. Place, *Charles Bulfinch, Architect and Citizen* (Boston, 1925), p. 141, through the courtesy of the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Company.]

Plate 5

at that time.⁴⁹ We know by now that this was impossible. No drawing was made before November, 1826.

Besides, we are now in possession of very detailed material concerning this stay of Chase in Washington, which Smythe could not know: a series of letters written at short intervals of a few days to his wife with the purpose of giving a "full substitute" for a diary, and of listing every important thing that happened to the writer during his stay.⁵⁰ The letters are indeed abundant in interesting detail: they tell of the writer's intercourse with his old friend, Henry Clay, who acted as his host in Washington; of his meeting Chief Justice Marshall, Daniel Webster, and Albert Gallatin; of a dinner with President John Quincy Adams; but more interesting, at least for this present purpose, is the fact that the name of Bulfinch does not show up in these letters. It is safe to say positively that Chase left Washington in 1826 without having made Bulfinch's acquaintance.

When he returned to Washington two years later, in February, 1828, in order to win the interest of Congress for his petition for a land grant, he enlarged his circle of social acquaintances, certainly not without the idea of currying favor for his project. On this occasion it occurred to him to make use of a family relationship, which had not been considered up to that time. On March 6, 1828, he wrote to his wife from Washington:

"Yesterday I went to see Mrs. Bulfinch the wife of the present most excellent chief architect of the United States. She is the daughter of a Mr. Apthorp who married the own cousin of your mother. She resembles you. She is very lively in conversation, has a number of sons and daughters. She talked with me much of you."⁵¹

This is the first trace. It is clear from the wording of this letter that on this social call the bishop did not meet the master of the house, and had not secured his cooperation. Old Kenyon was under construction since the previous summer, the cornerstone having been laid in June, 1827. The bishop's mind was teeming with ideas about the future of Kenyon. It is impossible to assume that he would not have mentioned to his wife at this moment so important a fact as the cooperation of the first architect of the country, if it had been a fact at that time.

The bishop may have used this new acquaintance with Mrs. Bulfinch to get introduced to Bulfinch himself in the days that followed.

⁴⁹Smythe, *Kenyon College*, p. 310.

⁵⁰K. C. L., Chase Papers 260202ff: photostats from the originals which are in the possession of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia; obtained for Kenyon College Library in 1944.

⁵¹K. C. L., Chase Papers 280306 (here condensed).

It is certain that he met him on March 21st, at an evening party about which Mrs. Bulfinch reported to her son, Thomas, in the following letter of March 22, 1828:

"Last evening we all went by invitation to tea to Judge Cranch's . . . There were plenty of members of Congress, one or two belles, and a Bishop Chase of Ohio . . . He is a noble looking son of the Church, handsome and easy in his manners. He is here to petition Congress to give him a township of land to assist him to establish a college in Ohio. His building is now nearly up, and he is enthusiastic as good men usually are, when engaged in any scheme of what they think great usefulness. He spent an evening here lately, giving us an interesting account of his visit to England. . . .

"We spent our evening at the Judge's in the usual walking about manner; two musical instruments, one in each room. . . ."⁵²

Since Mrs. Bulfinch's formula, "we all," necessarily includes the head of the family, we have here the documentation and the date for a meeting of Chase and Bulfinch. Further, it seems altogether likely that on this evening the construction of Old Kenyon would have been mentioned in Bulfinch's presence. It cannot be stated with certainty that it was on this evening that the bishop showed the Nash drawing to Bulfinch and invited his comment. It might have been some day between the 6th and 21st of March, or even some days or weeks later; but it is certain that Chase, when he left Washington in May, 1828, carried a copy of the Nash draft amended by Bulfinch. The spire was built according to Bulfinch's sketch in 1829.

THE COMPLETION OF OLD KENYON

It was not Bulfinch alone from whom Chase asked for improvements on the original plan. He "consulted the best architects in our cities,"⁵³ but he does not mention their names. The change in the form of the doorheads and the addition of windows above the doors (*compare* Plates 1 and 2) are the most visible results of these consultations. How far the interior of the building was considered in such consultations, is not known.

When Bishop Chase left Gambier and the diocese of Ohio in September, 1831, the middle part of the present building had been ready for two years. The completion had to be postponed for lack of money

⁵²E. S. Bulfinch, *Charles Bulfinch: Life and Letters* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1896), p. 259.

⁵³Chase, *Defence against G. M. West* (1831), p. 27.

and stone. It was only some years after Chase's departure that the construction could be continued. The result is the shortened wings, beautified by the two bull's eyes, which have been the most popular feature of the building ever since among Kenyon students.

The history of the wings is not so clear as that of Middle Kenyon, the body of the building. It is certain that the East Wing was completed in the fall of 1834. The West Wing was ready "to receive the roof" at that time,⁵⁴ but the report of its being "recently completed" dates only from October, 1836.⁵⁵ The source for these data, the *Gambier Observer*, a Church weekly published by the faculty of Kenyon in the 1830's, is silent about the person of the architect who finished Chase's work. No credit was ever publicly given, and research in the files of the college has brought no evidence as yet. We have to take Smythe's word for it that the gentleman-architect who created the wings was Professor Marcus Tullius Cicero Wing, one of the most capable and, at that time, most influential members of the faculty.⁵⁶ This man, with a name so weighty with the classical tradition of the liberal arts college, was a more important figure in the history of Kenyon than is usually realized. It seems that in the first period of Bishop Chase's successor, Bishop McIlvaine, he was the leading spirit not only in the college but also in the town. He was a professor in the college, and later on in Bexley Hall; treasurer of the college; and secretary of the board of trustees. He was also one of the editors of the *Gambier Observer*, and this is perhaps the reason for the reticence of the paper concerning the author of the plan for the wings. A study of the files of the college gives the impression that Wing was the type of strong worker who loves to do things, but does not care to be given public recognition.

Completed, as it would seem, under Wing's direction, Old Kenyon in its present form looks less impressive and "gothic" than on the original plan, but it better served practical purposes than the romantic initial project could ever have done.

Of the "Bulfinch Legend" this much remains: That Old Kenyon, though in all essentials the work of amateur or gentlemen-architects like many other outstanding creations of that period, has the distinction of being connected with the great American tradition by the touch of the hand of one of its masters.

⁵⁴*The Gambier Observer*, Nov. 7, 1834 (Vol. V, p. 38).

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1836 (Vol. VI, p. 199).

⁵⁶Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 311, says that the architect who built the wings is unknown. In his annotated copy of the book (in K. C. L.), however, he added this statement: "The 'architect' was M. T. C. Wing, but perhaps he did not design the bull's eyes." Unfortunately, he did not indicate his source for this information.

APPENDIX I

BISHOP CHASE TO LORD KENYON

[*Original in the Kenyon College Library, Chase Letter Book*]

Phil: 19. Dec. 1826

My very dear Lord Kenyon:

Our subscription succeeds better than was feared. *The cause* is gaining every day. Its Enemies retire and its Friends advance to its support. I shall tarry in this City about 9 or 12 days longer; when I shall go on to N. York. Prudence and Firmness, I trust, will be given me.

I take the liberty of sending in a very unfinished state for your Lordships inspection a Print of our College: at the bottom the following will be engraved:

This view of

Kenyon College Ohio

is most affectionately inscribed to the Benefactors thereof both in England and America by their most faithful^a and grateful Friend

PHILANDER CHASE

14th Decr. A. D. 1826

Engraved by P. E. HAMM

Drawn^b by the Rev. N. Nash.

I trust that a survey of the land and a Plat of the Town, and of the squares etc. will soon be sent me from Ohio; when they come they shall be sent forthwith. . . . In great haste tho' always

most faithfully, I am your
Lord's most grateful
and affectionate Friend

PHIL. CHASE.

My birthday AE(tatis) 51.

Address on back:

The Right Hon.

Lord Kenyon

16 Portman Square

London

^aCorrected for "affectionate."

^bOriginally: "Designed," but this word has been blotted out and is half covered by "Drawn," but still more visible than the writer intended.

APPENDIX II

BISHOP CHASE TO LORD GAMBIER

June 11, 1829

[Part of the draft in Chase's own hand, three sheets, in Kenyon's College Library, Chase Papers 290611. Printed in Chase's *Reminiscences*: first edition (1844), p. 641; second edition, Vol. II (1848), p. 37.]

" . . . The building of the college, 110 feet of it, is now up, covered and finishing. The walls are massive and exceedingly well put together, they are 4 feet thick at bottom, receding 6 inches at every story. As you ascend 4 stories, the weight of the stone forming the Cornice course is from 10 to 20 hundred. The Roof, on account of the elevated site of the College and its consequent exposure to the violent winds of our country, has^a more timber in it and is^b put together with more appropriate firmness any^c thing^c of the kind in America. The steeple is in good proportion, high and beautiful. The draft of^d it^d was made for me by our national architect Mr. Bulfinch of the^d City^d of^d Washington.^e The^f height of the vane from the ground I do not now exactly remember, but it is rising of 100 feet, I think 110, and has the most happy effect when seen at a distance towering over lofty woods. The associations which it creates both in relation to the past and in anticipation of the future are such as call forth in every Christian breast feelings of the deepest interest and the most fervent gratitude. As you approach it, the thoughts of the past and the future form themselves on your mind"

^a"Is" in the ms.

^bMissing in the ms.

^c"Most things" in the prints.

^dMissing in the prints.

^e"D. C." added in the first print; "D. C. (See plate)" added in the second print.

^fThis whole passage is omitted in the prints.

A PLEA FOR FURTHER MISSIONARY ACTIVITY
IN COLONIAL AMERICA—DR. THOMAS
BRAY'S MISSIONALIA

By Samuel Clyde McCulloch*

Last year the Church Historical Society in Philadelphia made a very valuable purchase in the field of Americana when they bought Dr. Thomas Bray's *Missionalia: or, A Collection of Missionary Pieces Relating to the Conversion of the Heathen; both the African Negroes and American Indians. In Two Parts*, published in 1727 by W. Roberts of London.¹ Besides being the last and matured observations on missionary enterprise of a man with a lifelong interest in the colonies, this book also is a well-conceived counter proposal to Bishop Berkeley's (then Dean Berkeley) plan to found a college in the Bermudas for training missionaries and ministers who were to work in the American colonies. These two plans, one by a brilliant and idealistic philosopher, the other by a less brilliant but more practical humanitarian, both churchmen, were ably analyzed forty-three years ago in an article by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner.² However, they continue to merit a detailed discussion.

Although Bray was one of the most far-sighted, energetic and colonially-minded clergymen of the eighteenth century, he has been almost entirely neglected by scholars. Throughout his life he strove to better education through charity schools, to reform prisons, to found libraries, and to propagate the gospel among white and colored alike in the colonies. Born at Marton, Shropshire, in 1656,³ Bray was educated at Oswestry School and Oxford, where he graduated from All Souls College in 1678. Having entered holy orders, he served as country curate, chaplain, and vicar until 1690, when he became rector of Sheldon.

*Dr. McCulloch is visiting assistant professor of history at the University of Michigan.—*Editor's Note*.

¹Hereafter cited as *Missionalia*.

²"Two Eighteenth Century Missionary Plans," *Sewanee Review*, XI (July, 1903), pp. 289-305.

³This is the customary year ascribed to Bray's birth. However, Mr. John Wolfe Lydekker, in his recent article, "Thomas Bray (1658-1730): Founder of Missionary Enterprise," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XII (September, 1943), pp. 187-214, writes that he checked the baptismal registers of Chirbury, through the courtesy of the present incumbent, the Rev. S. W. Rodin, for Bray's date of baptism. The date was found to be May 2, 1658, and Mr. Lydekker feels that the baptismal entry of 1658 is the year of Bray's birth.

Warwickshire. Here he wrote his famous *Catechetical Lectures*. Their publication brought his name before Henry Compton, bishop of London, who in 1696 (the same year Bray received his D. D. from Magdalen College, Oxford)⁴ made him ecclesiastical commissary of Maryland. This appointment, like all his preferments, was well deserved.

Some pending ecclesiastical legislation for Maryland kept Bray in England until 1699. Meanwhile he gave his attention to two important problems—the selection of well-qualified missionaries, and the means of supplying them with libraries. To finance his plans he asked parliamentary aid, but, receiving none, realized that the solution lay in founding a voluntary association, incorporated by charter. Thus in 1699 he formed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, whose aim was to send missionaries and libraries to the colonies, and to provide charity schools in England for educating the poor. Fortunately Bray was a competent literary craftsman, and penned many clear and forceful expositions, not only of this plan, but also of the many others he promulgated throughout his lifetime. The *Missionalia* was the last of this series of missionary tracts.

Reaching Maryland early in 1700, he proved to be a brilliant organizer and leader. Because of his work, an act establishing the Anglican Church in Maryland was passed, a local missionary plan undertaken, and the clergy's maintenance assured. He returned to England the same year in order to secure the approval of the Maryland act (of establishment). The weak position of the Anglican Church in America incited him to found the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701. Solidly backed by churchmen, it took over the foreign work of the S. P. C. K.

Having decided to remain in England, Bray resigned his position as commissary, and, in 1706, he became rector of St. Botolph without Aldgate, London, where he continued his philanthropic labors. In 1724 he founded the Dr. Bray Associates for establishing clerical libraries and educating Negroes and Indians. He also encouraged prison reform, and worked with Oglethorpe for the foundation of a debtors' colony. He died in 1730, aged seventy-three. His *Missionalia*, written three years earlier was, therefore, the product of a mellow and experienced mind.

One of Bray's reasons for writing the *Missionalia* was to vindicate the colonial clergy. In 1725 Berkeley wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in Our Foreign Palntations and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity by a College to Be Erected in the Summer Islands, Otherwise called the Isle of*

⁴Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), I, p. 173.

Bermuda.⁵ The dean purposely eschewed the continental colonies because he considered them in a low moral condition. Such a slight touched Bray to the quick. Two years later he made his rebuttal by publishing a counter-proposal to Berkeley's plan. A detailed presentation of Berkeley's activities, however, should precede a discussion of Bray's *Missionalia*.

BERKELEY'S PLAN FOR A COLONIAL COLLEGE

George Berkeley, about to become dean of Derry, had written in 1723 to his good friend, Sir John Percival (afterwards earl of Egmont), that since the previous year, "I have determined with myself to spend the residue of my days in the Island of Bermuda, where I trust in Providence I may be the mean instrument of doing good to mankind." And the remainder of the letter outlines a plan to build a college where "the English youth of our plantations may be educated in such a sort as to supply the churches with pastors of good morals and good learning, a thing (God knows!!) much wanted."⁶ The reason for his desire to cut adrift from the Old World is not hard to find. In 1721, being profoundly affected by the dislocation and misery that followed the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, he wrote *An Essay Towards Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, which excoriated the corrupt civilization of England, and suggested many idealistic reforms.⁷ But his hopes of reform soon died, and, disgusted with the shameless moral laxity in England, he resolved to build a new and better civilization across the seas.

Brilliant, sociable, friend of the great and near-great, and in 1723 the unexpected beneficiary of a legacy from Swift's "Vanessa,"⁸ Berkeley had unusually propitious chances for success in his overseas venture. He quickly interested three young and promising tutors,⁹ and in his struggle to obtain government subsidy he even persuaded the cynical Swift to write him a letter of recommendation to Lord Cartaret. "I discouraged him," wrote Swift, "by the coldness of Courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And, therefore, I humbly entreat your Excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in the kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to

⁵Alexander Campbell Fraser, *The Works of George Berkeley, D. D.* (Oxford, 1871), III, pp. 215-231.

⁶Berkeley to Percival, London, March 4, 1722/3, in Benjamin Rand, *Berkeley and Percival* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), pp. 203-206.

⁷Fraser, *Works of Berkeley*, III, pp. 195-211.

⁸Alexander Campbell Fraser, *The Life and Letters of George Berkeley, D. D.* (Oxford, 1871), IV, pp. 96-100.

⁹Daniel Dering to Percival, London, March 5, 1722/3, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, pp. 206-207.

compass his romantic design; which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage."¹⁰ Armed with Swift's letter, Berkeley crossed over from Ireland in September and traveled to London to gather funds and obtain a charter from the king.

His first important step was the publication in the following year of a pamphlet outlining his proposal for a college in Bermuda. It was this pamphlet that Bray attacked in his *Missionalia*. The main purpose of Berkeley's new institution was to train ministers for the "very ill supplied" colonial churches, and to be a "Nursery of learning for the education of the natives."¹¹ The second aim was to further the plan of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to aid the Indians and Negroes. Berkeley wanted to give a good European education to young Indians and Negroes. "It is proposed," he wrote, "to admit into the aforesaid College only such savages as are under ten years of age, before evil habits have taken a deep root; and yet not so early as to prevent retaining their mother-tongue, which should be preserved by intercourse among themselves."¹² Berkeley chose the Bermudas as the site for his college by the method of elimination. The low moral conditions prevailing in the colonies precluded establishment there. Codrington College, founded by the S. P. G. in the Barbadoes, provided a bad environment because of the "dissolute morals" and the "wealth and luxury" of the rich planters. The Bermudas seemed the logical site. They were centrally located in relation to the other colonies, with the natural advantages of good climate and security from attack, and they had the moral prerequisite of virtuous inhabitants—a state of beatitude existing mainly because the island was not over-commercialized. A college founded in such a locale could not but improve the natives and the colonists, and generally contribute to a new and enlightened colonial policy. As one of his friends and promoters wrote in the following year: "Westward the course of Empire takes its way, . . ."¹³

By June 12, 1725, Berkeley received a charter from George I for St. Paul's College in Bermuda,¹⁴ and by the end of the year the combination of his vast popularity in society and his affable and dynamic persuasiveness was responsible for raising a private subscription fund of £3,400.¹⁵ In February, 1726, he wrote to Percival that the fund

¹⁰Swift to Lord Cartaret, Dublin, September 3, 1724, in Fraser, *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, IV, pp. 102-103.

¹¹Fraser, *Works of Berkeley*, III, p. 217.

¹²*Ibid.*, III, p. 217.

¹³Berkeley to Percival, London, February 10, 1725/6, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 231.

¹⁴Berkeley to Prior, London, June 12, 1725, in Fraser, *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, IV, pp. 111-112.

¹⁵Berkeley to Percival, London, December 28, 1725, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 227.

amounted to about £4,000, and that Lord Palmerston (Henry Temple), the custodian of the D'Allone legacy for the instruction of Negroes, was willing to present it to the new college. But the trustees for "directing the disposal" of the legacy were the Dr. Bray Associates, which included Bray, Lord Percival and three others,¹⁶ and evidently no such favorable decision was reached, because the sum was later given to General Oglethorpe to aid his foundation of Georgia.¹⁷ Berkeley was dissatisfied with subscriptions alone, and appealed to parliament for a grant of £20,000. The king assented, and directed the prime minister, Robert Walpole, to propose such a grant. Although Walpole did not favor the move, he agreed to be "neutral," and was surprised when the bill passed the House of Commons in May, 1726, with only two dissenting voices. The week before the vote was taken either Berkeley or a close friend had managed to canvass every single member of the House, and in a letter written immediately afterwards, Berkeley said:

"After six weeks' struggle against an earnest opposition from the different interests and motives, I have yesterday carried my point just as I desired in the House of Commons, by an extraordinary majority, none having the confidence to speak against it, and not above two giving their negative; which was done in so low a voice as if they themselves were ashamed of it."¹⁸

Nothing more, however, was to come of the bill, mainly because of Walpole's opposition.

Meanwhile, Berkeley, still living in hopes that government aid would mature, stayed on in London two more years; then decided to sail for the Bermudas, stopping first at Rhode Island, where he hoped to purchase with his own private funds a farm which would supply his college with fresh meat. In September, 1728, he and a tiny group of per-

¹⁶Same to same, London, February 10, 1725/6, in *ibid.*, p. 230. In 1699, when Bray was in Holland seeking King William's aid for his library schemes, he conversed at great length with M. Abel Tassin D'Allone, the king's secretary, on the subject of the Negro's needs. Even then Bray had ideas of planning a society which would aid Negroes and Indians. Some years later D'Allone gave Bray £900, to be devoted to the instruction of Negroes, and on his death in 1721 D'Allone bequeathed one-tenth of his English estate together with the arrears of the pension due him from the crown at the time of his death, "as a fund to be used by Bray and his Associates for erecting a school or schools for the children of parents of negro slaves in the Christian religion, and the parents if they so wished (S. P. G. Letter Book MSS. (L. C. Photo), A 19, p. 18)."

¹⁷See the author's article, "Dr. Thomas Bray's Final Years at Aldgate, 1706-1730," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XIV (December, 1945), pp. 322-336.

¹⁸Berkeley to Prior, London, May 12, 1726, in Fraser, *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, IV, p. 125.

sonal friends set out for the New World.¹⁹ The boat touched Virginia, where Berkeley was shown many "unexpected honors" from the governor and other important officials,²⁰ and then proceeded up the coast to Newport, Rhode Island. While in Virginia he had met William Byrd, who a few months later wrote a criticism of Berkeley's plan that outdoes Bray's *Missionalia* in sharp condemnation. Writing to Percival, Byrd noted that "the Dean's project was . . . a very romantic one," and continued that "the Dean is as much a Don Quixote in zeal, as that renowned knight was in chivalry. Is it not a wild undertaking to build a college in a country where there is no bread, nor anything fit for the sustenance of man, but onions and cabbage?" He also points out that the air is only pure because of successions of storms and hurricanes, and that "it will need the gift of miracles to persuade them [the Indians] to leave their country and venture themselves upon the great ocean, on the temptation of being converted."²¹

At Newport, Rhode Island, Berkeley lived in quiet retreat for three years. During that time he revised his opinion about the low morals of the colonies and the poor quality of the colleges, for he even considered establishing his institution in Rhode Island. Writing to Percival in 1729 he said:

"The truth is, I am not in my own power, not being at liberty to act without the concurrence as well of the Ministry as of my associates. I cannot therefore place the College where I please; and though on some accounts I did and do still think it would more probably be attended with success if placed here than in Bermuda, yet if the Government and the gentlemen engaged with me should persist in the old scheme, I am ready to go thither,"²²

But the next year he wrote to his friend, Prior, that he would like to push on as soon as possible;²³ and three months later said that he had no intention of remaining in Newport, but would sail for Bermuda as soon as he received the government grant.²⁴ But the grant never arrived, mainly because the opposition felt that the scheme would foster colonial independence.²⁵ Walpole saw to its demise, and Berkeley re-

¹⁹For an account of Berkeley's stay in America see Benjamin Rand, *Berkeley's American Sojourn* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).

²⁰Berkeley to Percival, Newport, Rhode Island, February 7, 1728/9, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 238.

²¹Byrd to Percival, Virginia, June 1729, in *ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

²²Berkeley to Percival, Newport, Rhode Island, June 27, 1729, in *ibid.*, p. 250.

²³Berkeley to Prior, Newport, Rhode Island, March 9, 1730, in Fraser, *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, IV, p. 172.

²⁴Same to same, Newport, Rhode Island, May 7, 1730, in *ibid.*, IV, p. 183.

²⁵Percival to Berkeley, Bath, December 23, 1730, in Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 269.

luctantly gave up all hope of his plans, and returned quietly to England in 1731. "With such a man as Walpole at the helm," writes Professor John Wild, Berkeley's recent biographer, "there was no danger of any colourful thread of idealism creeping into the intricate commercial web of Anglo-American relations. The American policy was thus kept strictly 'practical,' and the shrewd and business-like mind of the great minister took proper steps that no misguided idealism should in any way foster colonial independence and thus jeopardize the American trade."²⁶ Thus came to an end a plan Bray had criticized from the very outset, but it would seem that Berkeley was defeated primarily for political reasons.

BRAY'S *MISSIONALIA*

Bray's *Missionalia* is not solely concerned with formulating a counter plan to Berkeley's college. It contains advice to colonial clergymen, suggestions for their libraries, and even includes biographies of important churchmen, whose experiences would provide inspiration for neophytes. The *Missionalia* is a collection of missionary pieces and a missionary exhortation. The edition owned by the Church Historical Society is divided into two parts: the first concerns a letter and a memorial to the clergy of Maryland which mainly outlines a reply to Berkeley's plans, and the second part is an annotated bibliography of works essential to missionaries.

The first section of part one is entitled, "A Letter to the Reverend Commissaries and Clergy of *Maryland*, exhorting them to, and pointing out the Method of carrying on such Conversions." Bray congratulates them upon their successful library work, and is gratified that there are almost no losses or embezzlements; but the good work must be kept up. Because of the good accounts he has heard, he promises to send books to Maryland bought by the D'Allone trust. These books, however, were for the use of the Negro population.

Horn books, spelling books, and catechisms will be sent so that the people can help instruct the Negroes, and also try to convert the Indians. But as he feels that there is more chance in winning the Negroes, since they do not "roam about in a Wild and Savage Way of Living,"²⁷ than the Indians, Bray is preoccupied with the pedagogical problems of teaching the colored folk. He also suggests ways for improving the religious spirit of the Maryland white population. "Methinks the Planters," he writes, "who are tinctur'd with some sense of Religion"

²⁶John Wild, *George Berkeley* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 302.

²⁷Bray, *Missionalia*, p. 13.

might be persuaded to start family prayers,²⁸ and promises to send the Maryland clergy copies of the *Life of Mr. Bernard Gilpin* (after having it reprinted) as an example of how to spread Christianity.²⁹

The second section of part one of the *Missionalia* is by far the largest and most important, and is entitled, "A Memorial to the said Clergy, desiring them, on their Part, to inform the Trustees of Mr. D'Allone's Bequest to those Purposes, of the most probable Methods in their Power of Undertaking that good Work with Success; more especially as it respects the *American Indians*." Bray insists that although the main aim of the Trust is to instruct and convert the Negroes, the Indians must not be neglected. He, therefore, plans to send a copy of instructions originally written with the South African natives in mind, a "Heathen Nation, on the South of Africa," which he feels should apply to the American Indians. The clergy of Maryland are asked to study the plan, and, if they do not favor it, to submit their own. In other words, Bray is merely canvassing their opinions, not forcing his ideas upon them.

Missionary work had been attempted, according to Bray, in Delagoa Bay, near the west end of Madagascar, in an area operated by the Africa Company. The work was a failure, chiefly because of the following omissions: (1) equal division of the land among the families to forestall squabbling; (2) erection of houses and cultivation of the land; (3) attempts to persuade the men to cultivate the land, and the women to do the domestic growing and sewing; (4) efforts to convince them that shelter, clothes and settlement were better than the old life, and that "to make themselves a more Happy People than hitherto they have been, the Good God has sent the English among them"³⁰ (imperialism and missionary work were not incompatible in Bray's eyes); (5) the necessity of understanding the difficulties inherent in spreading Christianity among wandering peoples; and (6) the necessity of organizing a well conceived plan for teaching and converting. Bray then elaborates upon his program of teaching, catechizing and preaching.

Another contributing error in the failure of the Delagoa undertaking was that the need of a good school for educating the natives was overlooked. The Jesuits are never guilty of this oversight, being fully aware that religious instruction is not enough. At Delagoa, continues Bray, only two princes were given an education, and then a very special education—which was all wrong. They were taken to England, called "Highness," and given "a Gentleman and Scholar-like Education in the City," instead of being apprenticed in the country to some

²⁸Bray's *Missionalia*, p. 7.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 23.

carpenter, or farmer, and catechized by the parish minister. Is it surprising the two were miserable? One killed himself just before he was supposed to leave England, and the other "went native" as soon as he landed on the African shore. Consequently, the latter and "new" approach should be made in working with the American Indian, as the African and American natives are on the same cultural level and need to be civilized as well as Christianized.

Bray now outlines his plan for educating the American Indian, which is also his counter proposal to Berkeley's college in Bermuda. The controlling philosophy was to civilize and Christianize them at the same time. He proposed that "two or three Artificers of sober Conversation, together with their Wives, and both of some Competent Knowledge in Religion, shou'd be sent to live and abide among them."³¹ The artificers were to be "Carpenters," "Tillers of Land" and "Taylors." The wives were to teach, for example, in the schoolhouse built by the carpenter. Bray also suggested that these newly civilized Indians be brought under the protection of the British Government, thus becoming buffers against the Indians and French. In this way the Church would help extend the boundaries of the colonies. "Good God! How Glorious wou'd this be to *the British Nation in General*," wrote Bray, "and what Security to its foreign Plantations in particular, lying as now they do, too much expos'd to the Inroads and Ravages of the *Indians*, and their Instigators the French!"³² Nor does he propose to lay the burden of the scheme upon the regular American clergy. Realizing that they would not have sufficient time in between their pastoral duties to devote to the Indians, and believing progress could be made only by living among them, (in addition to being convinced of the futility of using the routine missionary approach), Bray felt his plan provided the only solution to the problem.

Bray's analysis of Berkeley's project and his accompanying lucid and practical criticism follow with an appeal to the clergy of Maryland to compare the two plans for themselves, and to propose a third one if they wish. In his criticism Bray made these points: (1) Bermuda was no longer healthy, and had "now become Barren, the Soil being so wash'd away by Hurricanes, that for want of Provision it is said they are Removing off the Island, some to the *Bahamas*, some to *Carolina*."³³ (2) Bermuda was well populated, and filled with "the roughest and rudest Sort of People, Sailors, . . .," thus "least fitted for Retirement, Contemplation or Study."³⁴ (3) The distance from the American colonies was too great. (4) Berkeley was mistakenly critical of the

³¹Bray's *Missionalia*, p. 60.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 63.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 69.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 69.

American clergy's attempts to convert the Indians, and Bray bolsters his criticism by citing the successful work of the College of William and Mary, and of Robert Boyle. Bray also doubted whether it was feasible to hope that Indians would travel hundreds of miles overseas when it was difficult to persuade them to come forty or fifty miles to William and Mary. Sometimes the college was even empty. Bray, becoming more and more bridled, accused Berkeley of not understanding the American Indian, and of having no right to libel the American clergy. (5) Worse, Berkeley had suggested capturing Indians, if none came voluntarily—surely an “un-Christian” or rather “anti-Christian” tactic. In Bray's eyes it was tantamount to slavery, and might provoke an “Eternal War” since they were “the most vindictive of all people.” (6) Berkeley would make the Indian dissatisfied with his own lot, so that he would not want to return home. (7) If the Indian did return, he might be killed by his own people for “voluntarily forsaking them,” and Bray gave an example of some Indians who went one thousand miles to track down and murder two “humaniz'd Indians.”³⁵ (8) When the Indian returned, he might go back to his old ways “like a Dog to his Vomit,” and Bray referred to a Dutch failure, and the Delagoa fiasco already mentioned. And, finally, (9) Bray felt that his plan was much less expensive, and cited statistics to prove his point. The initial cost of Berkeley's plan amounted to £7,500 to Bray's £800; and the annual running costs were £1,000 to a mere £200.³⁶ Bray does admit, however, that Berkeley's system might be successful among the Negroes, because they are more civilized.

Changing from argumentation to persuasion, Bray indirectly compared the two plans by speculating what probability of success his own might have. He felt that it promoted civil life; for instance, the Indians would learn English because of the constant intercourse during building, planting and other activities. Governors would wish to assist, promote and protect the missions because the areas near their respective colonies would be civilized and Christianized. Not only would new territory be added to the empire, but also buffers would be provided against the savage Indians. Thus governors not interested in the propagation of the faith—and there were a great many—would sponsor the plan. Finally, the men supporting Berkeley's project could be used to great advantage in the Bray plan. Berkeley, himself, could do the interviewing and selecting of artificers and others for the Bray plan; in fact, he could become the leader of the whole organization if he wished. Bray never doubted the dean's capabilities, just the practicality of his missionary system for the New World.

³⁵Bray's *Missionalia*, p. 76.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 81-89.

In conclusion, Bray again urges the clergy of Maryland to act as arbiters. Living near the Indians and familiar with local conditions, they are the best judges of the two plans. And he gently prods them by reciting the criticisms which Berkeley had levelled at them. But this is not all. In a five page "Appendix,"³⁷ Bray apologizes for his insignificance. But the weak often confound the mighty, and he hopes his scheme is better than Berkeley's. He incongruously closes by lashing out at the Roman Catholic missionaries, although he admires some of their methods, notably the work of Thomas à Jesu, a Carmelite monk.

Such was Bray's reply to Berkeley. No further analysis is necessary to prove the difference between Bray's practical, seasoned approach and Berkeley's impractical theory and lack of experience with New World conditions. The modernity of Bray's plan is notable, and his arguments against the Dean are strong and well-placed. Berkeley's project vanished into empty air; but the methods used today among the Indians are surprisingly similar to those advocated by Bray. The worthy doctor was indeed a far-sighted reformer.

The third section of the first part of the *Missionalia* is entitled "The Exemplary Life of Mr. *Bernard Gilpin*, Eminent for his Piety and Zeal, to enlighten, by a Christian Instruction, the Parts which are most Ignorant." George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, wrote this life. Gilpin (1517-1583) worked among the neglected classes in the north of England. Unfortunately this work does not appear in the *Missionalia* edition possessed by the Church Historical Society. The book was issued in parts during the years 1727 and 1728, and is apparently incomplete. There are also several cases of irregular pagination. The edition owned by the Newberry Library³⁸ in Chicago was published in 1728, and includes Gilpin's life, together with six other small additional sections which make up part one. Most of these additional sections are not listed in the table of contents, and must have been last minute inspirations of Dr. Bray. Many are not even paginated. These sections include:

(1) "An act for the better preservation of Parochial Libraries in that part of Great Britain called England." This is the act of 1709 which Bray had worked so hard to promote.³⁹

(2) "Rules for the better preservation of Parochial Libraries."

³⁷Bray's *Missionalia*, pp. 107-112.

³⁸The *Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1810-1822), IX, p. 83.

³⁹The table of contents of the edition owned by the Church Historical Society is exactly similar to that of the Newberry Library; but the latter has the date of publication as 1727-28. The Maryland Historical Society Library in Baltimore owns an edition similar to that in the Newberry Library. So far as this writer has been able to ascertain, these three copies are the only three in America.

These simply repeat many of those already given in Bray's earlier writings, together with the rules laid out in the 1709 Act. The section concludes with a subscription form to be used by all who wished to contribute to the raising of parochial libraries.

(3) "To the Honourable and Worthy Gentlemen, the Trustees of Mr. D'Allone's bequest for the converting the Negroes." Bray opens by stressing the need for good works, and is glad that the D'Allone trust is for America, because the difficulties of converting Negroes in Africa are very great. The failure of the Delagoa mission is ever present in his mind. Bray then speaks of D'Allone's wish, both verbal and written, that he, Bray, should draw up a plan for the conversion of Negroes and Indians. Why not have a probation period for missionaries, Bray asks? They could first serve for a time among the poor prisoners in London; then among the Negro slaves in America. And here Bray suggests that certain catechetical tracts be used, and stresses the urgent need of books. Next comes a sharp criticism of Berkeley for defaming the American clergy and dispersing "his libel throughout the Kingdom." Bray admits some need of "persons of merit" to go out as missionaries, and plans to publish a sample catalogue of the parochial libraries to attract such men. These libraries are to be "efficient," and not "rendered useless by having an Idle and Illiterate Drone put in Possession of such a Treasure." Bray concludes by admitting that there are better parochial libraries in Maryland than in some parts of England, and urges a "sister design" for development in poor English cures.

(4) "De Enunciando Evangelio." This consists of several chapters in Latin from *De Conversione Omnium Gentium Procuranda* by Thomas à Jesus. Bray's purpose in reprinting these was to indicate the necessity of studying heathenism before trying to convert heathens. The Carmelite had described modern heathenism, and proposed an admirable system of conversion, far better, thought Bray, than anything the Anglicans had to offer, though he hastened to add that the Anglicans had the superior religion.

(5) "The Lives of several Excellent persons, worthy the perusal of a Divine." This four-page bibliography, including twenty-two titles, of biographies of famous churchmen, lists such celebrated books as Dr. Cave's *Lives of the Apostles*, Strype's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Bishop Fell's *Life of Dr. Hammond*, and Nelson's *Life of Bishop Bull*.

(6) "A Consolatory letter of that Reverend and Pious man, Mr. Rowlett,⁴⁰ the author of the Christian Monitor, to his Mother, upon his apprehension of dying by the plague." The letter is preceded by a thirty-six page preface, praising Lord Digby, Bray's former patron, John

⁴⁰John Rawlet (1642-1686) was a friend of Bray.

Ketterwell, his friend, and Rawlet. Bray traced the inspiration for his library plans to Rawlet who left his private library to his home town and laid down certain rules for its preservation. The preface wanders considerably, indicating that Bray's seventy-one years had taken their toll. The main points he makes are the need of libraries, and the fact that Rawlet's remarks may apply to all people in grief. Bray next adds a thirty-two page dedication to the Reverend Mr. Richard King, vicar of Topsham in Devonshire, before finally returning to Rawlet.

Part two of the *Missionalia* is entitled, "A Catechetical Library, or Sett of Books, of more Immediate Use, in order to the Instruction of Novitiates in the Principles and whole System of Christianity, both Doctrinal and Moral." In a long introduction Bray explains to the clergy of Maryland why books should be sent for the work of conversion, what books should be used, and the necessity of giving an account of books previously received. The reading public in England is also considered, for he stresses the need of libraries in the poorer cures in England, and discusses general necessities and organization of such collections of books.

The bibliography of the catechetical library is called *Primordia Bibliothecaria Missionalia*,⁴¹ and Bray describes it as "The Scheme of a Diminutive or a Catechetical Library in Embrio, Proportion'd to the Exigencies of such as shall be Appointed to Preach the Gospel in our Colonies Abroad, or in the many Poor and Unprovided Cures at Home." Like Bray's two editions of *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, this work is a carefully organized, annotated list of books, that a missionary should possess. As in the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, not the least interesting part of the work are the notes that follow the titles.

The table of contents of the *Missionalia* lists two more sections for part two; but these are not printed. There were to have been further specimen libraries. The Newberry Library edition, however, lists a part three for the *Missionalia*, entitled, "Pastoral, on the various functions of the Pastoral Office Necessary to be duely discharged by everyone having Cure of Souls." An unfinished work, it consists of two chapters which list bibliography helpful in pastoral duties. The suggestions are well organized; for example, there are three titles under preaching, three under catechizing, and two under visitation of the sick. It is a pity that Bray did not complete this section; but, like so many of his works, he planned more than he could ever handle.

This volume, although not the best of Bray's works, has much intrinsic value. It is a real missionalia, and while there is not much continuity between the sections, other than the general subject of the

⁴¹Bray, *Missionalia*, pp. 33-72.

problems of missionary work, these sections are valuable for the picture they give of the colonies and of their conception in England. The differences in the appraisals of Bray, who was familiar with the territory, and of Berkeley who had a notion of the New World, is a case in point. The various sections, particularly the bibliographies, are interesting for the insight they give into the contemporary evaluation of men and books.

In the *Missionalia* Bray shows in greater detail than in previous books his familiarity with colonial conditions and his acute insight into the problems of missionary work. His realization that non-Christians vary and that the psychology of the uncivilized and the semi-civilized peoples are not the same, shows a perspicacity not given to his colleagues. Like his Roman Catholic predecessor, Thomas à Jesu, he recommends the study of heathenism before suggesting the converting of heathens. Best known for his talents as an organizer and executive, Bray is not always fully appreciated for his gifts as a student of human nature.

Equally important as this final proof of his unexcelled qualities as a professional missionary and humanitarian, is the unconscious revelation of the refined and Christian qualities of his nature. It is incontestable that Bray is hard on Dean Berkeley's dreams of establishing St. Paul's College in the Bermudas, but that his criticism is purely professional and impersonal, and that he was able to remember and respect the gifts Berkeley had to offer to a missionary undertaking, is shown in his suggestion that the dean administer his (Bray's) own plan. That he puts the people he serves before questionable acquiescence to his betters, is also implicit in his attack on Berkeley's missionary efforts.

Although his final volume, the *Missionalia* is not a summary work, and Bray undoubtedly thought of it as just another in his series of missionary tracts. Of the two editions in this country, the Church Historical Society edition, while the smaller because of its earlier printing, has the greater continuity.

BISHOP WHITE'S UNIVERSITY SERMON

With Introduction by G. MacLaren Brydon

[The following article is an extract from the diary of a young medical student at the University of Pennsylvania, who was so deeply impressed by a sermon preached by Bishop White before the university that he commented upon it at considerable length in his diary. Bishop White was not considered a popular preacher. But for that reason the great impression made by one of his sermons upon a university student is all the more noteworthy.

The author of the diary, Dr. Ethelbert Algernon Coleman, 1812-1892, was a native of Halifax County, Virginia, and lived in that county all of his life. He graduated at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia in 1829, after which he and a fellow-classman went to the University of Pennsylvania to study medicine.

G. MACLAREN BRYDON.]

FEBRUARY 11, 1832. Today I have been to hear Bishop White preach in the University; whom Dr. Horner called "a patriarch indeed, a friend and associate of Washington and Jefferson; a living link that served to connect the last generation with the present." His text was Proverbs 19th chapter, 27th verse: "Cease, my son, to hear the instruction that causeth to err from the words of knowledge."

In a most mild yet masterly manner he exposed the error and sinfulness of those who excused or even encouraged the backslidings of youth under the pretence of its being merely an innocent indulgence of the buoyant spirit natural to that period of life. He then exposed the utter futility of the "so-called law of honour." True honour is a most noble principal, a sister and friend of religion and virtue who affords them much assistance in pointing out the landmarks which are to guide us through the journey of Life, along the path of rectitude. But in the world its loudest and most prominent votaries have entirely diverted it from its original character and have set up an idol in its place, that allows the commission of many crimes totally incompatible with Religion, Virtue and true honour.

He then showed that we could not separate the moral from religious law because the former has no obligation except what is found in the penalties of the latter; and he concluded by saying that natural

Religion was an unreal existence, a boast of man's reason, which faculty can never arrive at just conclusions concerning the Deity and his government without the assistance of revelation. Though revealed religion was constantly receiving light and enforcement from the works of nature and diversified objects of the Universe. . . . I will not make any remarks on these conclusions except to express what is suggested to me concerning the moral law and its obligation. I have been under the opinion that we all have consciences that serve somewhat to guide our actions, independent of all religious feeling, or even knowledge. That this conscience was a kind of *instinct* that prompted us to good and withhold us from evil acts, without affording a consciousness of the power or penalty that enforced its decrees. If this instinctive principle does exist independent of all preaching or instruction, then it might be assumed as at least a partial obligation to enforce the moral law: for the decrees of conscience would be independent of religious knowledge or belief, and its penalty would be the sensible though unaccountable sting of an offended moral feeling. The law of conscience would then remain as a bond even to the most ignorant savage: whom its direct and wilful infraction would justly condemn to a future punishment. The more I see of the world, however, and the more converse I have with its younger members, with whom the natural law should exist in its greatest purity, the more am I inclined to doubt its existence independent of all instruction. This admission, however, conjoined with the Bishop's declaration concerning the futility of natural religion, would certainly seem to exonerate the Heathen from any penalty for their transgressions.

The Bishop is a most venerable looking old man, and was assisted by a clergyman whose hair was still whiter than his own.

BOOK REVIEWS

AN AMERICAN DIOCESE

[From *The Guardian*]

A HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY, 1704-1923. By George E. DeMille. Publication No. 16. Church Historical Society. Philadelphia.

This volume provides a useful addition to our knowledge of the history of the American Church. Mr. DeMille does justice to that rather puzzling character, William Johnson, who, for all his many faults, can certainly be described as a great churchman. "Indeed, if Johnson had had his way, the diocese of Albany would have been born a century sooner than it was, since he strongly pressed the claims of Albany as the see city for the proposed bishopric." A good word also is found for Governor Edmund Andros. Perhaps English Churchmen do not realize how much the Church owed in its colonial days to many of the governors. The author is sensible, too, in his comments on the American Revolution, which was not merely an uprising of oppressed colonists against tyrannical English overlords. "In the area covered by this study . . . it was in some sense a war of Dutch and Palatines against English and Scotch; it was a war of small landowners against the lords of the manor; it was a war of Indian against white; and it was to some extent a war of Anglican against dissenter."

The chapter headed, "Post-war Renaissance," is admirable. What a picture is presented to us of those stirring times!! Samuel Provoost, the first bishop of New York, was not the one to guide a reviving Church, "but he was at least a bishop; he could confirm and ordain." On Wednesday, September 14, 1791, in the parish church, Albany, 147 persons were presented for confirmation. "Grey-haired men and maidens welcomed the opportunity of receiving the seal of the Lord." When the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1783 there were five churches in what is now the diocese of Albany. By 1810 there were twenty-five thriving parishes or mission stations. "The one priest had changed to fourteen. Ten new buildings had been completed, and others were in process of erection. The Church like her Master, had experienced a resurrection."

At the close of 1868 the diocese of Albany was formed, carved out of that of New York. On the Feast of the Purification in the year following, Dr. W. C. Doane was consecrated its first bishop. Twenty-five years later at a great gathering in the newly-erected and partly finished cathedral, the same bishop was able to tell the story of a wonderful period of expansion and of consolidation—an expansion and consolidation which, according to *The Living Church Annual* of 1946, is still going on.

Mr. DeMille tells us, moreover, of the zeal of lay folk who determined to have the services and ministrations of their beloved Church, and of the devotion and heroic labors of noble priests like Samuel Fuller, Russell Wheeler and Daniel Nash. We are grateful to him for his enheartening work, which is well illustrated and pleasing in its format.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

A HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY, 1704-1923. By George E. DeMille, M. A., with Foreword by the Bishop of Albany. The Church Historical Society (Publication No. 16). Philadelphia.

The rector of the Church of the Cross at Ticonderoga has added another to the list of well-arranged and really informative diocesan histories. Apart from the 18th century Mohawk mission, few of the striking incidents which conventionally occupy the main place in American Church history occurred within the limits of the section of New York now comprised in the diocese of Albany. Yet its history has an interest much more than local. It illustrates in a somewhat self-contained area important aspects of our general Church history—the activities of the colonial Church, post-Revolutionary reconstruction, 19th century expansion, tractarian and post-tractarian influences, the readjustment of Church life in our own century. The items peculiar to its history are worthy of general interest—the Mohawk mission, the westward movement of Connecticut churchmen and churchmanship, the missionaries of the early nineteenth century, the commanding figure of Bishop William C. Doane, the gracious personality of his successor. All this and more is now recorded in DeMille's clear account. The best chapters, if one may distinguish, are those on the colonial and post-Revolutionary periods (I and II) and on the election, personality, and cathedral plans of Bishop Doane (IV-VI). The narrative comes down to the accession of the present diocesan, who stresses the deeper significance of the subject in his Foreword.

Fr. DeMille is not so dull a historian as to lack a point of view, in his case a full admiration for the strictly Anglican catholicism which he sees inspiring Church life in the Albany diocese at all periods. This gives him a sound sympathy for most of the leading figures in his story; it perhaps leads him to slur over some others whose activities might have been included—for instance, Henry Codman Potter, who during his ministry at St. John's, Troy, was a professed evangelical. Some will smile at part of the reason given for the success of the tractarian rector of Holy Cross, Troy, in contrast with Edgar P. Wadhams, who went to Rome and was later the first bishop of Ogdensburg.

Tucker, unlike Wadhams, was a moderate man, and a convinced and loyal Anglican (p. 62).

Perhaps the two are necessarily connected.

DeMille's previous work has led us to expect incisive and penetrating character sketches, and he does not disappoint us here, as far as his sometimes crowded chronicle allows. A figure who deserves to

be brought out of the shadows is Thomas Ellison, rector at Albany, 1787-1802, the first priest to work in northern New York after the Revolution, and best known as the instructor of Philander Chase; he seems to have combined the social graces with a capacity for hard work, an admirable combination. The central character is necessarily William Croswell Doane, bishop of Albany for nine years more than our present canons would allow. DeMille is admirably fair in recording the greatness and the limitations of this great man—one may hope that he will yet be the subject of a full biography. The Cathedral of All Saints is a true memorial of his life, full as it was of large plans which (in part because of their very largeness) were never entirely carried out. Surely this is a better heritage than would have been a career of small successes.

Less as comment on this book than as suggestion for others, the *History of the Diocese of Albany* suggests some thoughts as to what an ideal diocesan history should contain. It ought not to be completely absorbed in the chronicle of foundations and the *liber pontificalis*, the list of new parishes and series of episcopal lives, although these are necessarily important elements. It should give some picture of Church life in past periods—especially if there were local features of significance, but by way of illustration even if there were not. It should tie up the internal history of Anglicanism with the general history of the area involved—political, social, demographic, and religious,—and should relate the events of the diocesan history to the general movements of the Church at large. It should be honest about failures, false starts, and the shortcomings of leaders; it should remember that the laity are part of the Church, without whom (as Cardinal Newman observed) it would look pretty funny. DeMille's history rates very high by these standards which I have ventured to propose (although, as with other works of American Church History, one sometimes misses the background after the Revolution). May other dioceses be as fortunate in their historians.

E. R. HARDY, JR.

Berkeley Divinity School.

OUTLINE OF ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE: AN ACCOUNT FOR THE GENERAL READER OF ITS DEVELOPMENT FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By A. H. Gardiner, A. R. I. B. A. London. B. T. Batsford, Ltd. 12/6 net.

Here is a well illustrated and very helpful book for the understanding of our rich architectural heritage. Mr. Gardiner is interested not only in buildings, but also in their builders, and he gives us a study of beautiful houses and churches in the midst of their English setting. If we feel there are more sanitary details than we need, we are glad that he cares for the every day life of the people, the poor in their discomforts, as well as the rich.

Mr. Gardiner, with his extensive knowledge, helps to remove some old fallacies, as, e. g., that mediaeval buildings were designed and built by humble craftsmen, without any technical training. Definite infor-

mation about architects and builders does not appear much before the fourteenth century, but they were there all the same. In records the terms "master" and "carpenters," etc., are found. When the master mason of any importance had finished his training, he would probably do but little manual work. But we know that William of Sens personally superintended the work on the new choir at Canterbury, for it was while thus engaged in the fixing of "centres" for turning the great vault over the eastern crossing, that the plank of the scaffolding gave way and he fell some fifty feet to the floor. Plans were drawn on boards or on vellum, or as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, were cut out on the turf.

The "mysteries" of this wonderful craft, the greatest of the arts, included theories of ratio and of mystical perfection. "We know that certain proportions, such as the 5:8 ratio, were favored by the mediaeval designers, and that certain angles, such as 'the golden cut,' seem to have been handed down from the ancient world; while the angle of 51° 50' (the angle of the great pyramid) appears with a frequency suggesting something more than accident." "The church was orientated towards the east, and each cardinal point had its significance. The north (region of cold and darkness) is commonly consecrated to the Old Testament; the south (region of warmth and light) to the New. The western facade, facing the setting sun, is reserved for scenes of the Last Judgment."

Mr. Gardiner, with a freshness and charm, takes us again through the whole story of the rise and fall of English architecture, pointing out once more the might of Durham, the grace of Salisbury, and the charm of Wells, nor do late buildings lack care and attention. It is, however, a sad descent to the twentieth century, which has learned strength and proportion, and the use of new materials, but has lost beauty and charm.

The illustrations, as we should expect in a Batsford book, are quite charming; especially pleasing are those of the porch of St. Mary's, Oxford; the tower and porch of Cirencester; the interior of Kings College, Cambridge; Grevels House, Chipping Campden; Coventry Cathedral (will our moderns erect a monstrosity on the site of this lovely building?); and the west front of Wells. The jacket shows a sketch of great interest, an old lithograph of the rebuilding of the approach to London Bridge.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

BRITISH ARCHITECTS AND CRAFTSMEN. A SURVEY OF TASTE, DESIGN AND STYLE DURING THREE CENTURIES, 1600 TO 1830. By Sacheverell Sitwell. London. B. T. Batsford, Ltd. Second Edition, 1946.

A second edition of this admirable handbook is very welcome. Mr. Sitwell writes with knowledge, distinction and charm. The reader soon catches his enthusiasm which is sustained to the last page. The

chapter on Elizabethan and Jacobean Building is quite delightful. He brings us to a fresh appreciation of Inigo Jones. His account of Sir Christopher Wren, to whom we owe much more than the homely grandeur of St. Paul's, could hardly be improved upon. It is sad to read of the gutting of his City Churches, but it is well that we should be reminded of the destruction of many before the raids began. Of Wren's St. Paul's we read: "Wren has rivalled with Nature in his architecture. More than this could not be said of the greatest architect of the human race." Two charming illustrations are given of Wren's first design for St. Paul's, the rejection of which is said to have brought him to tears. Was it not suggested many years ago that this should have been used for the then new cathedral at Liverpool? It is a pity such an opportunity has not been used.

To Sir John Vanburgh also is given his due place. Great he certainly is, though puzzling to many lovers of his art. "He is one of the three great personalities in our architecture. The others are Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren. In fact, he had more personality than either of them. Vanburgh is one of the extreme cases in all the arts together, destined to be the subject of endless argument and discussion." He is unique, not only in England, for he has no parallel anywhere.

Other chapters follow, brim full of interest, on Hawksmoor, Gibbs, Kent and Adams—truly a goodly company. Concluding with a chapter on the Regency, which despite its extravagance has some good buildings to its credit, Mr. Sitwell tries to look beyond the barren present to a more hopeful future. "The leaves wither, and the long winter comes. We may conclude that it is unlikely it will flower in our lifetime. Our days and nights are not propitious. But where the genius of architecture has once lingered, it may come again. Of that genius, and its fruits, none can doubt who know our buildings from the norman and the gothic down to nearly modern times."

The illustrations are all that can be desired. The photograph of Trinity College Chapel is especially pleasing. The absence of cross and candlesticks from the altar means that it has been taken in vacation time. Newman made his first communion there. He wrote of it: "I loved Trinity Chapel at Oxford more than any other building."

R. D. MIDDLETON.

A TOWER ON THE HEIGHTS. By Ralph Foster Weld. Columbia University Press. 1946.

Under the alluring title of "A Tower on the Heights," Mr. Weld, a social historian, tells the story of the founding and later development of the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York, in 1832. Brooklyn was then literally a village with street-corner pumps and homes lit by tallow candles. There were three churches—the Dutch Church, the Methodist Church, and St. Ann's Episcopal Church. Mr. Weld recites the beginning of the enterprise when four men and six women "covenanted with God and each other, to walk together as Brethren and Sisters in the Lord, according to the Faith and form of Government of the Presbyterian Church in these United States." In many respects

this volume is a model history of a particular church, model because the author links it with the larger life of the city and with the religious life and thought of its more than one hundred years. In brilliant sketches of its succession of distinguished ministers the changing phases of theological thought are brought out, and in particular the struggle in the Presbyterian Church at large between what may be called the "fundamentalists" and the "liberals." By and large the First Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn has been steadfastly "liberal." Far too often written histories of individual churches or parishes are dry reading for the reason that they are not linked to the varying thought and life of their times. The great value of this book avoids that error. Mr. Weld has rendered great service by placing throughout the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn in its civic, social and religious setting.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

By John Tracy Ellis. Washington: American Catholic Historical Association. 1945. Pp. 415.

The author of this volume is the managing editor of the *Catholic Historical Review* and secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association as well as associate professor of American Church History in the Catholic University of America. In these pages he outlines the development of the idea of the creation of a Catholic University in the United States. The Church was pretty well supplied with smaller colleges and diocesan seminaries, but lacked adequate provision for graduate study. The first suggestion for such provision was made as far back as 1865. It was not until the Plenary Council of 1884 that the movement took concrete form and then mainly by the generosity of a young Catholic laywoman. The letters published in this volume reveal the fact that it "was not always a tranquil process." Some of the bishops were strongly opposed to the movement. In the long run the influence of Leo XIII, who was strongly in favor of it, saved the day. Father Ellis recites, without reserve, the ups and downs, and has given us a valuable contribution to the subject of higher education in America.

E. C. C.

MOTHER OF CARMEL: A PORTRAIT OF ST. TERESA OF JESUS. By E. Allison Peers. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1946. Pp. 220.

The author of this volume has an established reputation as an authority on Spanish religious life and thought. He has translated the *Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross* as well as those of St. Teresa (both in three volumes) and *Studies of the Spanish Mystics* (2 volumes). For the benefit of readers who may not have access to these larger works he has now turned his attention to smaller biographies. In *Spirit of Flame*, published two years ago, he sketched the life of the Carmelite friar, St. John of the Cross. Now comes *Mother of Car-*

mel. It is an intimate and understanding study, St. Teresa of Jesus, better known as the Mother of Carmel, to which he adds a summary of her writings. It is a valuable addition to devotional literature.

E. C. C.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN CANADA, West Park, New York. Holy Cross Press. Pp. 132.

It is significant that this book carries a foreword from the Presiding Bishop expressing approval of its purpose "to inform our people of the history and place monastic life has held in our Episcopal Church. In this age of crisis we must do all we can to make the Church realize the catholicity of her nature and work." The publication of this volume will do much to accomplish this end. It is divided into three parts: 1. The religious life; 2. communities of men; communities of women; 3. glossary and index. A brief historical sketch is given of each community; also an outline of its particular line of service and of the daily devotions and conditions of admission.

E. C. C.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, WALDEN, NEW YORK. By Charles Bodine.

An interesting account of a church which received its charter from King George III on July 30, 1770, its first minister being a missionary of the S. P. G. One can but, however, register a vigorous protest against the constant use of the phrase, "Rev." It occurs on almost every page and is a breach of good English and of good literary manners.

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IN MEMORIAM

ALEXANDER B. ANDREWS

February 2, 1873 - - October 21, 1946

The Editor-in-Chief and the Associate Editors announce with deep regret the death of Mr. Alexander B. Andrews of Raleigh, North Carolina. Mr. Andrews was, until recently, a member of the Joint Committee on the Magazine. He took a deep interest in its welfare and from time to time made valuable suggestions and contributions. For many years he had made a special study of Church statistics and was regarded as an outstanding authority in that field. May he rest in peace.

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIAL INFLUENCES OF THE TEACHING OF JOHN WESLEY AND HIS FOLLOWERS

*By F. A. J. Harding**

B. Sc. Econ., F. Ph. S. Eng., A. R. Hist. S.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This is an account of how one man's changed thinking and changed heart led directly to the creation of a mass of social doctrine which has had a permanent influence for good on the life of the world. It is sought to show that Wesley, having got away from the academic approach to religion, discovered the great social implications of Christianity. He preached a gospel which not only changed men's lives, but their social and economic circumstances too.

In the notes, where the words *Works*, *Letters* and *Journal* occur, it is to be understood that they refer to the writings of John Wesley.

F. A. J. H.

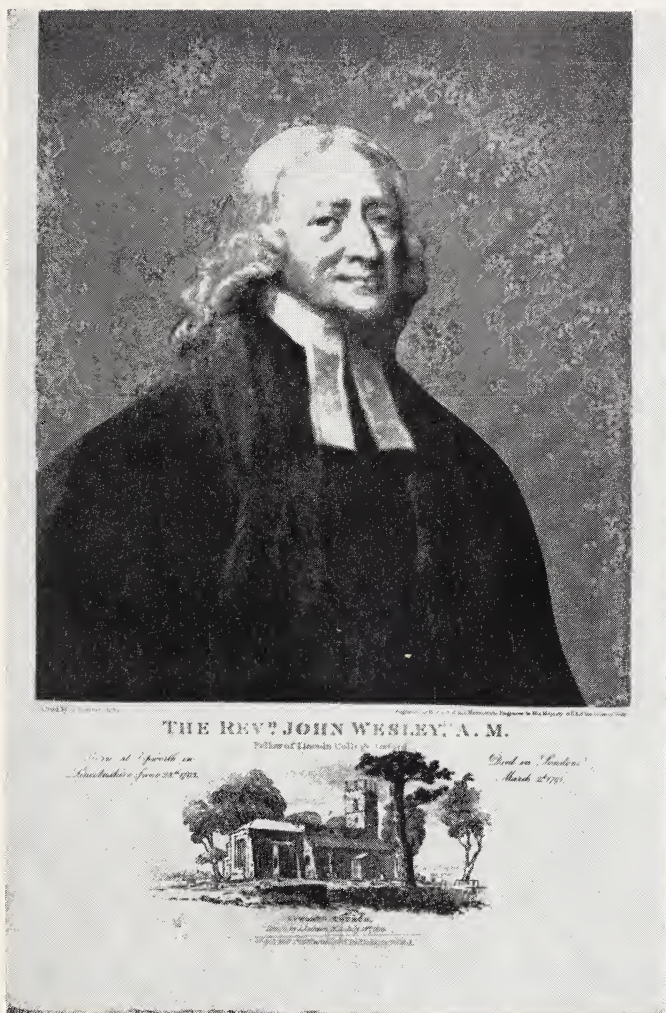
*St. Albans,
England.*

I. THE MEN OF OXFORD

In the early thirties of the eighteenth century, a group of young men, dons, undergraduates and others, were in the habit of meeting frequently in a room in Lincoln College, Oxford. They met for prayer and for the reading of the Bible. This practice soon attracted the attention of other members of the University who promptly dubbed them "The Holy Club." Other, less polite, names were thrust upon them, notably, the Godly Club, the Bible Moths, Bible Bigots, Sacramentarians and Methodists. It was the last name that stuck and showed that not for the first time in history a name flung in derision could become famous and honourable.¹

*The author is a graduate of the University of London, is a Fellow of the Philosophical Society of England, and an Associate of the Royal Historical Society for published work.—*Editor's Note.*

¹It will be recalled that the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch. Acts II., 26.



**THE REVEREND JOHN WESLEY
JUNE 28, 1703—MARCH 2, 1791**

**ORDAINED DEACON, SEPTEMBER 25, 1725;
PRIEST, SEPTEMBER 22, 1728**

S. P. G. MISSIONARY IN GEORGIA, 1735-1737

FOUNDED THE METHODIST SOCIETY, MAY 1, 1738

From the portrait by George Romney, 1789. Shown above is the Epworth Church, of which John's father, Samuel (1682-1735), was the Rector (1695-1735).

Membership of the club was exclusive. Not that its members were anxious to exclude anyone, but that the discipline of life that the members voluntarily assumed was so strict that only the hardiest could stay the course. At one time the number of adherents was twenty-seven, but this figure declined later to seven.²

The Holy Club owed much of its enthusiasm and drive to John Wesley, who with his brother Charles and, later, George Whitefield, became the instigators of the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. The friendship which the Wesley brothers formed with George Whitefield at this juncture lasted a lifetime, and, in spite of differences on doctrinal matters which threatened at times to sever the relationship, the bond of affection was never broken. Nearly forty years later John Wesley was able to write in his *Journal* under the date of November 10th, 1770, "I returned to London, and had the melancholy news of Mr. Whitefield's death confirmed by his executors, who desired me to preach his funeral sermon on Sunday, the 18th."³

On January 2nd of the following year he writes again, "I preached in the evening, at Deptford, a kind of funeral sermon for Mr. Whitefield. In every place I wish to show all possible respect to the memory of that great and good man."⁴

The influence exerted by these young men was more than that of an ordinary club, even a religious club; especially in an age of materialism and ungodliness when it was considered bad taste to display any kind of enthusiasm whatsoever, even in the most secular of activities. In due time it became evident that the meeting together of this group of young men was the beginning of the release of forces of a singular kind—forces which were destined to spread far beyond the borders of the ancient foundation of Oxford, forces which were to change England and England's thinking, and which were to be felt eventually in all corners of the earth.

Marshall Claxton⁵ in his picture, "The Holy Club in Session," has depicted the giants of the Evangelical Revival. In the picture, John Wesley stands at the head of the table expounding the Scriptures, while surrounding him are seen such figures as Charles Wesley, poet of the revival; George Whitefield; James Hervey, author of *Meditations*; William Morgan, the prison visitor; Benjamin Ingham, founder of the Inghamite sect; John Clayton; and Thomas Broughton.

²Belden, A. D., *George Whitefield—the Awakener*, p. 18.

³*Journal*: Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. V, p. 396.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 399.

⁵Marshall Claxton (1811-1881) was the son of a Methodist preacher and was well steeped in Methodist tradition. His most famous painting is the death-bed scene of John Wesley.

In later days, other men who were not at Oxford with the Wesleys were attracted to the company. Notable among the later additions to the ranks of the revivalists were two Anglican clergymen, William Grimshaw and John Fletcher, and Francis Asbury, who spent most of his later life in America. These three men proved to be a great acquisition to the ranks of the preachers. William Grimshaw, following Wesley's example, went into the open-air preaching, exhorting and admonishing. He was accused by the townfolk of Colne of preaching "damnation beyond all sense and reason" and altogether proved himself to be a man of great energy and conviction.⁶ John Fletcher became the beloved friend and intimate of John Wesley; he was perhaps the Melancthon of Methodism. Preaching at Norwich on October 24th, 1785, Wesley said:

"Many exemplary men have I known, holy in heart and life, without four-score years, but one equal to him I have not known—one so inwardly and outwardly devoted to God. So unblamable a character in every respect I have not found either in Europe or America; and I scarce expect to find another such on this side of eternity."⁷

Francis Asbury became the untiring and indefatigable evangelist of North America. "He went [to America] saturated with Wesley's thoughts. . . . For nearly fifty years he was the outrider of an ever-growing army of apostolic men who knew neither self nor fear, who conquered a continent and covered it with a network of circuits and conferences."⁸

It has already been pointed out that the severe discipline of the Holy Club reduced its membership. It was also a refining influence. Those who remained were tried in the fire. In addition to the self-imposed regimentation, they suffered at the hands of their fellows. In the case of John and Charles it amounted only to sneers and hard words, but in the case of Whitefield, it went harder. Being a servitor of the University, he was in a less dignified position than the Wesleys and hence could suffer more. "Some withdrew their pay from him, others were actively brutal to him, pelting him with dirt, friends fell away from him, masters and tutors rebuked him."⁹ In this austere setting and to the accompaniment of almost universal contumely, these three men and their handful of companions, set the standard for the

⁶Tyerman, L.: *Life and Times of Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 536.

⁷Sermon CXXXIII. Preached on the death of Fletcher. *Works*, V. Edit., Vol. VII, p. 449.

⁸*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. VI, p. 2, editor's note.

⁹Belden, A. D., *op. cit.*, p. 20.

good life in a material and superficial age. They themselves could not have been conscious in those early days of the shape of things to come. They could not have foreseen that John Wesley's equestrian figure was to become a familiar sight in many a British and American countryside; that the hymns of Charles Wesley would become known far and wide and that the thunderous periods of Whitefield's sermons were to fill the highest and lowest places in the land, bringing tears to the eyes of the duchess of Huntingdon, blushes of anger and shame to the cheeks of the duchess of Buckingham and repentance to the hearts of the thousands who gathered to hear him preach in Moorfields, London, sometimes at five of the clock on a winter's morning.

Thus came together from many corners of Britain, in the early days of the eighteenth century, those enthusiasts who were to cause a revolution, not from above or below, but from within.

II. GEORGIA

"No man lived nearer the centre [of English life] than John Wesley, neither Clive nor Pitt, neither Mansfield nor Johnson. You cannot cut him out of our national life. No single figure influenced so many minds, no single voice touched so many hearts, no other man did such a life's work for England."—AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

The days of the Holy Club were drawing to a close. John Wesley, Charles Wesley, Benjamin Ingham and Charles Delamotte remained in close fellowship after many of the other members had left Oxford. It was about this time—the autumn of 1735, that events occurred which changed the whole of Wesley's life. For some time Wesley had been under the notice of the Rev. Dr. John Burton, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Dr. Burton was an intimate friend of Wesley, a member of the Georgia Trust, and a staunch supporter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He much desired that Wesley should go to Georgia as S. P. G. missionary, and accordingly wrote to him on September 8th, 1735, urging him to offer his services to the Society.¹⁰

In a long reply, Wesley accepted the invitation in "the hope of saving my own soul," as he puts it, and in order to learn the true sense of the gospel of Christ by preaching it to the heathen.¹¹

He was eagerly joined by Ingham, Delamotte, and his brother

¹⁰For an interesting account of the founding of Georgia, the work of Dr. Bray and early missionary endeavour in the colony, see Strickland, R. C.: *Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century*, and an article by J. W. Lydekker in Vol. XII (1943), pp. 186-224, of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

¹¹*The Letters of John Wesley*, Standard Edition, Vol. I, p. 188.

Charles, and on October 14th, 1735, "about nine in the morning" they "took boat for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia."¹²

Once on board the four friends drew up a program as strict as the one they followed in the days of the Holy Club. Everything they attempted was intended to train and shape them for the work ahead. Each day was divided up and not a moment was left unaccounted for. The time was spent in prayer, Bible reading, study and preaching to the other passengers, while a period was left at the end of each day in which the four friends might meet to exhort and instruct each other.¹³

So close indeed was the bond between them that at one stage in their journey they drew up and signed a kind of pact in which the following words appeared: "We,, do agree, by the help of God:—first, that none of us will undertake anything of importance without first proposing it to the other three; secondly, that whenever our judgments differ, any one shall give up his single judgment or inclination to the others; thirdly, that in the case of an equality, after begging God's direction, the matter shall be decided by lot."¹⁴

In addition to the methodically arranged program of the voyage, Wesley himself devoted three hours each day to the study of German. In this way he prepared himself for preaching the gospel to the Moravian emigrants on board, and secured that knowledge of the language which enabled him to translate into English no less than thirty-three of the best known hymns in the Herrnhut *Gesangbuch*, which probably came into his possession for the first time on the voyage to Georgia. It is interesting to note that one of these hymns,

"What shall we offer our good Lord,"¹⁵

was translated from a hymn by August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Count Zinzendorf's collaborator.

Spangenberg was one of the first Europeans to greet Wesley on his arrival in Georgia and during his stay there, the two divines became greatly attached to one another.¹⁶

The conversation between the two men at their meeting, given by Tyerman, illustrates more than anything else how that, with all John

¹²*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, pp. 109 and 110.

¹³Tyerman, L., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 120.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 121, as quoted from Ingham's *Journal*.

¹⁵Methodist Hymn Book, No. 784. The original reads: *Der König ruht und schauet doch*. See H. Bett, *The Hymns of Methodism*, pp. 29 to 33.

¹⁶After Count Zinzendorf's death in 1760, Spangenberg became the leader of the Moravians (*die Brüdergemeine in Herrnhut*).

Wesley's close and diligent application to spiritual matters, the melody of his religious life was still in a minor key.

Wesley asked Spangenberg's advice upon certain matters, to which the latter replied: "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit, that you are a child of God?" This method of approach perplexed Wesley, who was at a loss to reply. Spangenberg continued, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" "I know He is the Saviour of the world," rejoined Wesley. "But do you know He has saved *you*?" insisted Spangenberg. "I *hope* He has died to save me," responded Wesley.¹⁷ How different from the Wesley who but two years later wrote in his *Journal*: "I felt I did trust Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved me from the law of sin and death."¹⁸

Wesley's life in Georgia was difficult and unhappy for him, but the vicissitudes through which he passed undoubtedly formed a background for the great change of heart which he experienced on May 24th, 1738. If his life in Georgia began in disappointment and continued with an increasing friction between himself and the colonists, he made fast friends with the Moravian community and with James Edward Oglethorpe, the governor. Through Spangenberg he got to know the Moravians in Oxford and London, notably Peter Böhler and Count Zinzendorf, both of whom were to play a considerable part in his spiritual development. Who is to pass judgment on Wesley's life in Georgia? Was he too narrow? Was he too intolerant? Were the colonists too irreligious or too "raw" for his refined and consecrated intellectualism? Outwardly the Georgia adventure seemed a failure, but Wesley, in spite of an unhappy love affair and a legal entanglement which followed him back to England, steadily moved forward to the greatest experience of his life.

Others have acquitted him of failure, notably his friend, George Whitefield. Whitefield wrote: "The good Mr. John Wesley has done in America is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people; and he has laid a foundation that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake. Oh, that I may follow him as he has followed Christ."¹⁹

Wesley himself seemed to think that on the whole the experiences of Georgia had been good for him. "Many reasons I have to bless God for my having been carried to America, contrary to all my pre-

¹⁷Tyerman, L., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 125.

¹⁸*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 476.

¹⁹Whitefield's *Journal* (quoted by Tyerman, L., *op. cit.*, p. 170).

ceeding resolutions. Hereby, I trust, He hath in some measure 'humbled me and proved me, and shown me what was in my heart.'"²⁰

John Wesley landed in Georgia on Friday, February 6th, 1736, and quitted the shores of Carolina on Thursday, December 22nd, 1737.

III. INTO THE MAJOR

"I felt my heart strangely warmed."

—Wesley's *Journal*.

Wesley's return to England did not lead to an immediate change in his spiritual fortunes; his thinking was broadened, his experience deepened, but so far the vital spark had not been struck. He was not less busy in spiritual matters, for on the second day out from Charleston, on the return journey to Europe, he was "instructing a negro lad in the principles of Christianity" and resolving "to break off living delicately."²¹ For some reason or another, fear of the sea and the danger of storms seem to have depressed him unduly, while the Georgia interlude weighed upon him with a sense of failure. His American legal entanglement followed him to England and altogether he was feeling low in spirits when he arrived in port. Matters were soon to change for him, however.

The first step towards the great spiritual awakening occurred on Tuesday, February 7th, 1738,—“A day much to be remembered;” it was the day he first met Peter Böhler the Moravian who, with his friends, Schullius, Richter, and Wensel Neisser, had come to meet Wesley at the house in London of a Dutch merchant named Weinantz.²² Wesley's friendship with Böhler developed quickly. In both the *Journal* and *Diary* of those spring days of 1738 many references to Böhler occur, and it becomes increasingly obvious that the Moravian divine was gaining a spiritual ascendancy over Wesley. Wesley was diligently seeking the experience of a deep personal religion, but had hitherto failed to discover it. Böhler had had that experience and was endeavoring to help Wesley to do the same. On one occasion at least, Böhler produced witnesses from among the English Moravians to tell “one after another what had been wrought in them.”²³

On May 4th following, Böhler set out for Carolina, leaving behind him a Wesley much impressed and considerably enlightened:

²⁰Moore's *Life of Wesley*, Vol. I, p. 347 (quoted by Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 170).

²¹*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 413.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 436 and note (Weinantz's son spelt his name "Wynantz").

²³*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 455 n.

"My heart was now so enlarged to declare the love of God to all that were oppressed by the devil, that I did not wonder in the least when I was afterwards told, 'Sir, you must preach here no more.'"

It would seem that his sermons were too searching for the exclusive congregations of St. Lawrence, St. Katherine Cree, Great St. Helen's and the Savoy. The mood of elation did not last long; by the following week Wesley was "sorrowful and very heavy; being neither able to read, nor meditate, nor sing, nor pray, nor do anything."²⁴ As in the past, so now, Peter Böhler is the means of a slight revival of spirit. A lengthy letter, in Latin, to Wesley his "Carissime et Suavissime Frater" from his "indignus Frater, Petrus Böhler," arrived on May 10th, but it was not sufficient to restore him completely. The spirit of heaviness remained several days; then came the change which wrought a revolution in his soul, whereby the symphony of his life changed from the minor to the major key. On May 24th, 1738, he wrote:

"I think it was about five this morning, that I opened my Testament on those words: 'There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the divine nature' (2 Pet. 1.4). Just as I went out, I opened it again on those words, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.' In the afternoon I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was, 'Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord: Lord, hear my voice. O let Thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it?'

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans.²⁵ About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

"I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, 'This cannot be faith; for where is thy joy?' Then was I taught that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation; but that, as to the transports of joy that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those who have mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdeth them, according to the counsels of His own will.

²⁴*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 460.

²⁵Thought by some scholars to be intended for *Galatians*. *Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, p. 476 n.

"After my return home, I was much buffeted with temptations; but cried out, and they fled away. They returned again and again. I as often lifted up my eyes, and He 'sent me help from His holy place.' And herein I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea, fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now, I was always conqueror."²⁶

So the life which had been lived amidst a series of difficult situations and had been overshadowed by a sense of frustration, suddenly became purposeful. Gone was the apprehension and the doubt, gone the continual "asking . . . with torturing anxiety of Hope and Fear, 'Am I right, am I wrong? Shall I be saved, shall I not be damned?'"²⁷ instead, the assurance that "He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."

The level of life had changed for him. Henceforth, for over half a century he was to carry the gospel to every corner of Britain and to put forth one of the greatest social influences ever exerted in the history of human achievement. His own ideas, in their social relationship, were chiefly ameliorative. He believed most intensely that the individual was important to God and that God was vitally interested in every single man; it naturally followed as a logical sequence that if every single man had a place in God's plan, then every man's condition, spiritual and social, was important. Simply phrased, Wesley might have stated his case thus: "If I am a child of God and if Christ died for all, then every man's social, as well as his spiritual, condition must count with me." His message, then, was to the last man in the last place.

IV. THE SOCIAL TEACHING

"The gospel of Christ knows of no religion, but social; no holiness but social holiness"

—Preface: *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739.

The ink was hardly dry upon the written record of his religious experience already related, when Wesley launched his message on the world. On April 2nd, 1739, he writes:

"At four in the afternoon I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speak-

²⁶*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. I, pp. 472-477. In Wesley's own record the text quoted by him: 2 Peter 1:4 is also given in the original Greek.

²⁷Carlyle, T., *Past and Present*, Edit. 1858, p. 161. The author is speaking of Methodism.

ing from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city [Bristol], to about three thousand people.”²⁸

In this simple fashion, Wesley announced the most revolutionary part of his campaign, the beginning of field preaching. The “ground adjoining to the city” was a brickyard (since built over) and now forming a part of that area of Bristol known as St. Philip’s Marsh. In passing mention should be made of the use of the curious expression: “I submitted to be more vile.” The expression “to be vile” was frequently used among the early members of the Methodist societies. Wesley, in a letter to James Hervey, uses the expression in a context which explains its meaning: he says, “Blessed be God, I enjoy the reproach of Christ! Oh, may you also be vile, exceeding vile, for His sake!”²⁹

From the year 1725 onwards, Wesley had held a belief in the doctrine of Christian perfection and in his *Plain Account*, he furnishes ample evidence of the progress of his thinking along these lines. By 1739, at a time when his conversion was really confirmed and he had begun the wider ministry of the itinerant evangelist, he and his brother Charles published a volume of *Hymns and Sacred Songs*. “In many of these,” Wesley writes, “we declared our sentiments strongly and explicitly.”³⁰ For the first time almost, in history, the common people were hearing hymns addressed to themselves, calling upon them to repent, to turn to God and to become perfect as God is perfect:

“Lord, arm me with Thy Spirit’s might,
Since I am call’d by Thy great name;
In Thee my wand’ring thoughts unite,
Of all my works be Thou the aim:
Thy love attend me all my days,
And my sole business be Thy praise.”³¹

To men who will sing and mean “Of all my works be Thou my aim,” living is a matter of religion, and religion a matter of personality. Here again the idea of the use to God of the individual emerges as an underlying principle. Or again:

Heavenly Adam, life divine,
Change my nature into Thine;
Move and spread throughout my soul,
Actuate and fill the whole.”³²

In another tract, *The Character of a Methodist*, published towards the

²⁸*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. II, pp. 172 and 173.

²⁹*Letters*, Standard Edit., Vol. I, p. 287.

³⁰*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, p. 370.

³¹*Methodist Hymn Book*, 1933 Edit., No. 573.

³²*Methodist Hymn Book*, 1933 Edit., No. 568.

end of 1739, he expresses the idea of Christian perfection in its social implication much more explicitly:

"In retirement or company, in leisure, business, or conversation, his heart [the Methodist's] is ever with the Lord. Whether he lie down, or rise up, 'God is in all his thoughts': He walks with God continually; having the loving eye of his soul fixed on him, and everywhere 'seeing Him that is invisible.' And loving God, he 'loves his neighbour as himself;' he loves every man as his own soul. He loves his enemies, yea, and the enemies of God. And if it be not in his power to 'do good to them that hate' him, yet he ceases not to 'pray for them,' though they spurn his love, and still 'despitefully use him, and persecute him.'"³³

Nothing could arrest a man holding and acting upon those convictions.

If the doctrine of Christian perfection was an ethical ideal, it spelt deliverance and freedom in many senses for Wesley's converts. It gave the individual a sense of personality. Men began to see in their relationship to God that they themselves had a value to Him and hence a new dignity; a sedate self-respect was born. From this root grew a new social consciousness. Wesley himself, always an evangelist, was not blind to the social implications of his own teaching:

"The gospel of Christ knows of no religion, but social; no holiness but social holiness. 'Faith working by love' is the length and breadth and depth and height of Christian perfection. 'This commandment have we from Christ, that he who loves God, love his brother also;' . . . and in truth, whosoever loveth his brethren, not in word only, but as Christ loved him, cannot be 'zealous of good works.' He feels in his soul a burning, restless desire of spending and being spent for them."³⁴

With Wesley, that "burning, restless desire of spending and being spent" resulted in all kinds of works of reform, the relief of distress, the rehabilitation of the unemployed, the education of the orphan, the writing of books and pamphlets and the petitioning of Parliament.

His *Sermon on the Use of Money* is a collection of arguments and precepts which arise naturally from the doctrine of Christian perfection. In this famous sermon, Wesley is at pains to show the right uses of money, and the Christian's duty in regard to riches. He speaks of money

³³*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, pp. 371 and 372.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. 14, p. 321 (being a quotation from the preface of *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. "Published by John Wesley, M. A., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford; and Charles Wesley, M. A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford." 12mo., pp. 223, 1739).

as an instrument of good: ". . . it is an excellent gift of God, answering the noblest ends,"³⁵ and it is the duty of all who fear God to be able to handle "this valuable talent" aright. The whole matter he reduces to three simple rules; "gain all you can, save all you can, give all you can." He himself was his own best witness. He gave away most of what he had. Writing to a Mrs. Hall in 1768, he says: ". . . money never stays with me: it would burn me if it did. I throw it out of my hands as soon as possible, lest it should find a way into my heart."³⁶ The fear of his getting a liking for the "mammon of unrighteousness" was perhaps the least of his motives for "throwing it out of his hands." He seems often to be rather shocked by the display of luxury; for instance, at the residence of Mr. Lascelles at Harewood, he finishes his description of the house with the comment: "But what has the owner thereof, save the beholding them with his eyes?"³⁷ His main concern, however, which was the well-being of others, is illustrated by the following incident. In May, 1776, the House of Lords instructed "The Accomptant-General for Household Plate" to circularise persons suspected of owning silver plate but from whom no admission of ownership had been received. John Wesley duly received one of these circulars to which he replied:

Sir, I have two silver teaspoons at London, and two at Bristol. This is all the plate I have at present; and I shall not buy any more while so many round me want bread. I am, sir, Your most humble servant.³⁸

The appearance of Wesley's sermon on the use of money at this time is thought by Professor Tawney to "heighten the impression of a general acquiescence in the conventional ethics." The "conventional ethics" being the largely increasing tendency to keep religious theory and economic practice in separate water-tight compartments. "The prevalent religious thought," Tawney continues, "might not unfairly be described as morality tempered by prudence, and softened on occasion by a rather sentimental compassion for inferiors."³⁹ If that somewhat cynical utterance be true, and there is every reason to suppose that it was true of the large proportion of the population, it was not a general rule amongst the people called Methodists. The progress of the eigh-

³⁵*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. VI, p. 126.

³⁶*Letters*: Standard Edit., Vol. V, p. 108.

³⁷*Journal*, Standard Edit., Vol. VI, p. 233. The Mr. Lascelles mentioned was created earl of Harewood in 1812.

³⁸*Letters*, Standard Edit., Vol. VI, p. 230.

³⁹Tawney, R. H., *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 191.

teenth century shows that as the Methodist became established, the dissent generally declined. In 1715 (i. e., in the pre-Methodist period) there is ample evidence that some sections of the dissent were wealthy and influential. In 1773, however, the reverse is the case. Wealthy supporters appear to be less numerous, the dissent is declining on the one hand while the Methodist movement is increasing numerically.⁴⁰ Undoubtedly the reason for this was that Methodism attracted the humbler classes in the main, while the attitude of Wesley towards wealth, ease, and luxury, rather discouraged the earlier wealthy adherents.

The sermon on the use of money may be said to contain the substance of Wesley's teaching concerning wealth, and forms an important contribution to contemporary thought on the right attitude towards wealth. The fear is always with him that Methodists may find riches weaning them from the truth:

"As many of them [the Methodists] increase in worldly goods, the great danger I apprehend now is their relapsing into the spirit of the world; and then their religion is but a dream."⁴¹

Similar warnings and even instances of the seductive nature of riches are given in several places in the *Journal*, while in his eighty-third year he writes to Freeborn Garrettson:

"Most of those [the converted] in England who have riches love money, even the Methodists—at least, those who are called so. . . . Let us take care to lay up our treasure in heaven."⁴²

On the whole, his views upon wealth were sane and reasonable. He might have epitomised his teaching by describing money as "a good servant and a bad master."

Wesley's view that religion largely included duty to one's neighbor has already been mentioned. For this reason, all his life, he was a great philanthropist. He saw in the rich the enemies of the poor and he hated luxury. During his lifetime poverty in England was extreme. Wages were low, especially in the mining industry and in agriculture; when the *tempo* of the Industrial Revolution began to increase, after the middle of the century, the new industrialism added its quota of misery to the squalor of the already overcrowded towns. In 1773, Wesley produced his *Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions*.⁴³ The ideas

⁴⁰Bebb, E. D., *Nonconformity and Social and Economic Life, 1660-1800*, p. 43.

⁴¹*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. IV, p. 417.

⁴²*Letters*: Standard Edit., Vol. VII., pp. 343 and 344.

⁴³*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, pp. 53 to 59.

set out are revolutionary for the period and show Wesley's advanced social views. His recommendations are sweeping: he suggests the prohibition of distilling to provide more corn for food and to bring down its price; he considers that horse-breeding should be cut in order to release more stocks of oats for the same purpose; he recommends that the breeding of horned cattle should be increased in order to place larger stocks of beef and mutton within reach of the poor;⁴⁴ he returns to an old theme by suggesting that luxury might be voluntarily curtailed, or forbidden altogether, and finally asks that the national debt be cut in half and all useless pensions be abolished to save taxation.

In addition to these sweeping suggestions, his own mind, always inclined towards the general betterment of the poorer classes, is full of his own schemes of charity and relief. In a letter to the vicar of Shoreham, Kent, Wesley gives what he calls a plain account of the people called Methodists. In this *Account* he relates quite simply how that various projects of an ameliorative character had been started.⁴⁵ Among the activities mentioned are the establishment of a dispensary for the sick in which, as he writes: "I took into my assistance an Apothecary, and an experienced Surgeon." In five months, more than five hundred people received medicine, seventy-one of whom, following the prescribed treatment carefully, were cured of complaints which had been thought to be chronic. In the same period, according to the record, the financial turnover was forty pounds. A poorhouse for widows and a school for poor children are described, while a loan club for lending poor people up to five pounds to be repaid in three months is credited with having saved many from the toils of the pawnbrokers: "It is almost incredible," the *Account* continues, "but it manifestly appears from their accounts [the stewards], that, with this inconsiderable sum, two hundred and fifty have been assisted, within the space of one year."⁴⁶ Almost at the end of his long life he is still collecting and disbursing on behalf of the poor. At eighty-four he writes:

"Monday the 8th. (of January, 1787) and the four following days I went a-begging for the poor. I hope to be able to provide food and raiment for those of the society who were in pressing want, yet had no weekly allowance. These were about two hundred. But I was much disappointed. Six or seven, indeed, of our brethren gave ten pounds apiece. If forty or fifty had done this, I could have carried my design into execution. However, much good was done with two hundred pounds, and many sorrowful hearts made glad."⁴⁷

⁴⁴Robert Bakewell (1725-1795) laid the foundations of scientific sheep breeding in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁵*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. VIII, pp. 263 to 268.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁴⁷*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. VII, pp. 235 and 236.

Other tracts and pamphlets followed at various times both of a social and political character. His *Appeal to Men of Reason* (1745), *A Serious Address to the People of England, with regard to the State of the Nation* (1778) and his *Estimate of the Manners of the Present Times* (1782), were aimed chiefly at awakening the nation to its own ungodly state. Many other, shorter, tracts continued to appear, each having its special message and each being chiefly concerned with some aspect of social reform, e. g., *A Word to a Sabbath-Breaker*, *A Word to a Swearer*, *A Word to a Drunkard*, *A Word to an Unhappy Woman*, *A Word to a Smuggler*, *A Word to a Condemned Malefactor*, *A Word to a Freeholder*,⁴⁸ *Advice to a Soldier*, *A Word in Season; or Advice to an Englishman*.⁴⁹ In politics Wesley was, in general, conservative, but he had his own ideas and exercised considerable influence on political thought during the eighteenth century by his writings. In his tract, *How far is it the Duty of a Christian Minister to Preach Politics?* (1782), he comes to the conclusion that on the whole a minister should remain silent, "as we may suppose they [the politicians] know their own business best."⁵⁰

There occurred in 1768 one of those crises which have frequently marked the progress of British constitutional history. John Wilkes (1727-1797), a rather worthless individual, had published in 1763 a severe criticism of the King's Speech in a paper called *The North Briton*. For this he had been brought to trial, expelled from the House of Commons, and outlawed. He fled the country but returned for the general election of 1768 and was promptly returned as member for the County of Middlesex. He wrote another libel and was again expelled from the Commons. This happened three times, and three times was he re-elected. In expelling him, the Commons were acting *ultra vires* and in an unconstitutional manner, and so at last Wilkes was allowed to take his seat in 1774 and the accounts of the expulsions were expunged from the parliamentary records in 1782. In the year that he took his seat he also became Lord Mayor of London. Parliament's unconstitutional action in regard to Wilkes' election aroused the strongest political feelings. On January 21, 1769, there appeared in *The Public Advertiser*, the first of a series of seventy letters on public affairs; these letters continued until January 21, 1772, and showed their author to

⁴⁸This pamphlet proved very popular and many thousands were printed and sold in the author's lifetime. In it he lays down what he considers to be a voter's duty at election time. ". . . for whom shall you vote? For the man that loves God. He must love his country, and that from a steady, invariable principle."—See *Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, p. 196.

⁴⁹Published in 1745, this pamphlet was a robust indictment of the Rebellion of that year, coupled with an urgent appeal for religious revival.

⁵⁰*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, p. 155.

have a wide and intimate knowledge of the law, politics, and general intrigue. He was fearless, unscrupulous and rancorous in his attacks on various public figures, and was generally held in terror by those who might engage his attention. The author hid his identity so successfully under the name of *Junius* that the secret has never been discovered.

The Wilkes affair and the continuous excitement contingent upon the publication of the *Letters of Junius* brought Wesley into the arena; in 1768 he published *Free Thoughts in the Present State of Public Affairs*, and in 1772, *Thoughts upon Liberty* appeared. In these papers Wesley shows himself anxious for religious and civil freedom, but suspicious of agitation and innovation; while condemning violence, he still holds firmly by the constitution. In the same year *Thoughts concerning the Origin of Power* appeared to rebut the doctrine of John Locke that all political authority is derived from the people. In conclusion Wesley says: "So common sense brings us back to the grand truth, 'There is no power but of God.'"⁵¹

The War of American Independence provoked much comment from Wesley and great publicity was given to his opinions: "No layman was so prominent, nor had so great an influence. Some opposed and some upheld his views, but everybody was interested in them."⁵² Wesley had first-hand knowledge of some of the American colonies. In 1769 the first Methodist preachers had gone to America, and in 1771 Francis Asbury landed in Philadelphia (October 27th). In or about 1766 Robert Strawbridge formed a Methodist society at Sam's Creek, Frederick County, Maryland, while Philip Embury inaugurated a similar body in New York.⁵³ Francis Asbury, therefore, had an embryo church to guide and develop. These facts influenced Wesley's initial attitude towards the war and he discloses his view quite frankly in a letter to the earl of Dartmouth, who was Lord Privy Seal in 1775 when the war broke out. The letter was written on June 14th, 1775, and in it Wesley wrote:

"All my prejudices are against the Americans. For I am an high churchman, the son of an high churchman, bred up from my childhood in the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance. And yet, in spite of all my rooted prejudice, I cannot avoid thinking (if I think at all) that an oppressed people asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner which the nature of the thing would allow."⁵⁴

⁵¹*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XI, p. 53.

⁵²Edwards, M., *John Wesley*, p. 70.

⁵³Lewis, J., *Francis Asbury*, p. 25.

⁵⁴*Letters*, Standard Edit., Vol. VI, p. 156.

A similar letter was sent to Lord North, First Lord of the Treasury; both letters were also published and were widely read.

Shortly after this, Wesley made, what appears today, to be a grave mistake. A copy of Dr. Samuel Johnson's tract, *Taxation no Tyranny*, fell into his hands. This tract was an elaborate attempt at excusing the taxation levied upon the American colonies, and an expression of his own conservative views on the American crisis. Wesley "flung from his pen" in corroboration, "one of those incisive and crystal pamphlets which no one could write with a firmer hand than he."⁵⁵ It was called *A Calm Address to our American Colonies* (1775) and ran to forty thousand copies in three weeks. Fortunately, the large consignment of copies destined for America was destroyed. For the moment, however, Methodism and Wesley became objects of scorn and dislike both in America and among American sympathisers in England. His *Calm Address to Inhabitants of England* (1777) is more restrained, while his real concern for America may be illustrated by the circular letter sent to the American evangelists through Thomas Rankin, March 1st, 1775:

My dear Brethren—You were never in your lives in so critical a situation as you are at this time. It is your part to be peace-makers, to be loving and tender to all, but to addict yourselves to no party. In spite of all solicitations, of rough or smooth words, say not one word against one or the other side. Keep yourselves pure, do all you can to help and soften all; but beware how you adopt another's jar.

See that you act in full union with each other: this is of the utmost consequence. Not only let there be no bitterness or anger but no shyness or coldness between you. Mark all those that would set one of you against the other. Some such will never be wanting. But give them no countenance; rather ferret them out and drag them into open day . . . "⁵⁶

The period in which Wesley was occupied in writing his various pamphlets on the American war and the other matters already mentioned, also saw the publication of his *Thoughts upon Slavery* (1774). He was absolutely opposed to slavery. All his life he had realised that the Negro was included in his doctrine of personality and the individual's place in the divine plan, and when in 1772 he read a book by the Quaker, Anthony Benezet, he came out actively on the side of anti-slavery. On February 12th he wrote in his *Journal*:

⁵⁵Pyke, R., *Dawn of American Methodism*, pp. 90 and 91.

⁵⁶*Letters*, Standard Edit., Vol. VI, pp. 142 and 143. See also editor's note on p. 142, which refers to John Wesley's concern at the failure of Chatham's Bill for appeasing the strife with America to pass the House of Lords. Within four months the battles of Lexington (April 19th, 1775) and Bunker's Hill (June 17th, 1775) had been fought.

"I read a book, published by an honest Quaker, on that execrable sum of all villainies, commonly called the slave-trade. I read of nothing like it in the heathen world, whether ancient or modern; and it infinitely exceeds, in every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mahometan countries."⁵⁷

In a letter to Thomas Funnell in 1787, Wesley discloses the fact that the tract, *Thoughts on Slavery*, published thirteen years earlier, had had a very wide circulation in England, but that the "slave-merchants and slave-holders . . . are mighty men,"⁵⁸ constituting a deep-seated vested interest. The last letter that Wesley ever wrote, a week before his death, was addressed to the great English abolitionist, William Wilberforce. Wilberforce's anti-slavery campaign had been met with serious opposition and he had become discouraged and desperate. Wesley wrote: "O be not weary of well doing! Go on, in the name of God and in the power of His might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it."⁵⁹

Before leaving the subject of Wesley's social and humanitarian writings, a word should be added as to his work as an educationist. He wrote many books in the course of his lifetime, edited the *Arminian Magazine* for many years, and supplied England with good cheap literature for the first time in history. Through his prolific output of tracts and other books, a very real picture of the eighteenth century has been handed on to posterity. Always anxious to impart knowledge as well as to obtain it for himself, his works contain, among other writings, the following interesting items: short grammars of the English, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages; "a Compendium of Logic"; a number of works abridged from other writers; five volumes of tunes for hymns and psalms both for voices and instruments;⁶⁰ and a leaflet entitled, *Directions for Congregational Singing*.

V. THE SOCIAL IMPACT

*He sent his two servants, Whitefield and Wesley: were they Prophets,
Or were they Idiots or Madmen?—Show us Miracles!
Can you have greater miracles than these? Men who devote
Their life's whole comfort to entire scorn and injury and death?
Awake! thou sleeper on the Rock of Eternity, Albion, awake!
The trumpet of Judgement hath twice sounded: all Nations are awake,
But thou art still heavy and dull. Awake, Albion, awake!*

—From "Milton"—WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827).

⁵⁷*Journal*, Bi-Cent. Edit., Vol. V, pp. 445 and 446.

⁵⁸*Letters*, Stand. Edit., Vol. VIII, p. 23

⁵⁹*Letters*: Stand. Edit., Vol. VIII, p. 265.

⁶⁰*Works*, V. Edit., Vol. XIV, p. 345.

Elie Halévy, writing about the English people as they were in 1815, states that "For sixty years . . . Methodism had been the one really civilizing influence at work among the miners whether in Durham or in Cornwall." He adds that a sudden outburst of religious enthusiasm formed the sole counteraction to the debauchery and degradation of the mining communities.⁶¹ Here then is the evidence of important social reaction to the preaching of religion: men and women are influenced to exchange a life of wrong for one of respectability and chastity. With such a change at the centre of an individual's life, further reforms are likely to take place and others are influenced for good. Mrs. Dorothy George says that "Methodism doubtless counted for much both as a civilising influence among the people and as one of the channels of the growing spirit of humanity and the growing knowledge of the poorer sort."⁶² The Hammonds, while being impartial in religious matters, state plainly that Methodism was "the most important event in eighteenth-century England."⁶³ They believe also that Methodism was conservative and that "it sought to make people contented with their material lot."⁶⁴ Earlier opinions had gone even farther and plainly asserted that the Methodist revival had saved England from horrors similar to those which overtook France in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Lecky states:

"England, on the whole, escaped the contagion. Many causes conspired to save her, but among them a prominent place must, I believe, be given to the new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people, which had enlisted in its service a large proportion of the wilder and more impetuous reformers, and which recoiled with horror from the anti-Christian tenets that associated with the Revolution in France."⁶⁵

Undoubtedly when the full force of the Industrial Revolution struck the country, bringing so many difficulties in its train, the "vehement religious enthusiasm" formed a bulwark against both actionary and reactionary influences. J. R. Green, adding his quota, affirms that at the close of Walpole's ministry "a religious revival burst forth which changed in a few years the whole temper of English society." He goes

⁶¹Halévy, E., *A History of the English People in 1815*, Pelican Edit., Book 2, p. 88.

⁶²George, M. D., *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 12.

⁶³Hammond, J. L. & B., *The Age of the Chartists*, p. 237.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, p. 261.

⁶⁵Lecky, W. E. H., *England in the Eighteenth Century*, 1913 Edit., Vol. III, p. 146.

on to show how that the revival led to a new spirit of philanthropy, reform of the prisons, modification of the penal laws, abolition of the slave trade within the British Empire, and to steps being taken towards universal education.⁶⁶

The first half century of Methodism shows a widening influence, but like all religious movements it seems to have found it necessary to make some sort of compromise with material interests. Here again Halévy holds a fine balance and asserts that Methodism was no exception to the age-old practice of separating religion and business:

"No Church, however, can be successful except by coming to terms with the Devil. The evangelicalism of Wesley and Whitefield, in many respects remorselessly fanatical, had learnt to adapt itself to the economic requirements of Northwest England, and displayed the greatest indulgence towards all the business methods of the speculative financier or promoter. Here also a fusion took place between two opposed tendencies. There came into existence a class of austere men, hard workers and greedy of gain, who considered it their twofold duty to make a fortune in business and to preach Christ crucified. This class had its hypocrites, but it had also its saints—zealous philanthropists, who were, moreover, possessed of the practical turn of mind which enabled them to effect their schemes of benevolence without self-improvement."⁶⁷

The compromise of one section, however, did not prevent another section from preserving the pure and unadulterated teaching of the founder. Wesley drew to himself a body of men, chiefly from the lower ranks of society, who "came out" as preachers and class leaders. To mention some of the better known of these evangelists, we have: John Nelson, a mason; Peter Jaco, a fisherman; Duncan Wright, a soldier; Alexander Mather, a baker's assistant; John Murlin, farmer's boy turned carpenter; George Story, a bookseller's assistant; Sampson Staniforth, a baker; Christopher Hopper, a wagoner; Matthias Joyce, a printer; John Valton, a civil servant; Jasper Robinson, a potter; and Thomas Walsh, a schoolmaster.⁶⁸

After conversion the majority of these men proved their ability as leaders and teachers. They thus gained a dignity not known before. A real and sound democracy was born.

⁶⁶Green, J. R., *A Short History of the English People*, Everyman Edit., pp. 693f.

⁶⁷Halévy, E., *A History of the English People in 1815*, Pelican Edit., Book 2, p. 114.

⁶⁸In his *Imposture Detected, and the Dead Vindicated*, Rowland Hill, a bitter opponent of Wesley, refers to these early preachers as a "ragged legion of preaching barbers, cobblers, tinkers, scavengers, draymen, and chimney sweepers." See Tyerman, L., *Life and Times of John Wesley*, Vol. III, p. 256.

“Methodism taught the common man how to work his own representative organisations by the experience of the class meeting and by the multiplication of local preachers throughout the length and breadth of the land.”⁶⁹

Although the men attracted to the standard of the Wesleys were for the most part drawn from the lower orders, they were often well-informed, self-educated individuals, who deemed it their duty to equip themselves as soundly as possible for the work of evangelism. The tradition has persisted, and all through the history of the Methodist Church there have been many preachers and teachers of outstanding ability and prowess.

Here perhaps we may observe one of the most important of the social influences of the Methodist Revival—the cultural. So many of the newly-converted were unable to read that it was found expedient to set up Sunday Schools where the members of the Methodist societies might be taught; in this manner many thousands learned to read. In these days of almost universal literacy, we are apt to overlook the power which an ability to read suddenly places in a man's hand. To a person to whom reading is a novelty, any book is worth reading—a man can read the Bible or *Das Kapital*, the Sermon on the Mount or *Mein Kampf*. Far-seeing John Wesley was at once alive to the power which an ability to read conferred; he was also conscious of the shortage of suitable books for the untutored, so he set to work and in due course produced a number of volumes on various topics for the edification of his followers. The staple reading of the early Methodists, after the Bible, consisted of the Methodist hymn books, the first of which appeared in 1738; the *Arminian Magazine*, first issued in 1778 and aimed chiefly at refuting the doctrine of election beloved of Toplady and Rowland Hill;⁷⁰ and the *Christian Library*, “Consisting of Extracts from, and Abridgments of, the choicest Pieces of practical Divinity which have been published in the English Tongue. In Fifty Volumes . . . 1749-1755.”⁷¹

It was in the pages of the *Arminian Magazine* that the records of the lives and experiences of many of the early Methodist preachers were preserved; these accounts were first collected and published in separate form by Thomas Jackson in 1837-1838.⁷²

⁶⁹Rev. Dr. A. W. Harrison, in his presidential address at the Methodist Conference, Nottingham, 17th July, 1945.

⁷⁰See Tyerman, L., *Life and Times of John Wesley*, Vol. III, p. 280f.

⁷¹*Works*: V. Edit., Vol. XIV, pp. 220-222.

⁷²Bett, H., *The Spirit of Methodism*, p. 140.

Undoubtedly the prose writings and poetry of the Wesleys formed a very real contribution to literature and had great cultural value for those who read them in the pages of Wesley's varied publications. The honest observer will see from the accounts of the lives of various early Methodists that, notwithstanding their frequently humble origins, they often became men of culture. The added interests and wider horizons which culture conferred, influenced many Methodists in later years to enter public life. In this way Methodism impinged on politics. Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, writing of Methodism after Wesley's death, quotes the poet Crabbe:

All innovation they with dread decline,
Their John the Elder was the John divine.

From this it may be deduced that at this time at least, about 1791, Methodism was strongly conservative. Within Methodism Wesley was autocratic; he himself disliked change; it is, therefore, not surprising that he should have been a Tory in politics and that his close friends and successors in the Methodist Connexion should have agreed with him. Dr. Edwards finds that at this period the dominant note in Methodism was conservative.⁷³ In addition to this fact there were two other reasons for the maintenance of the conservative attitude, both of which savour of the compromise already mentioned (see note 67): the first was the increasing wealth of the Methodists both as business proprietors, entrepreneurs and skilled workmen; and the second was the nation-wide reaction to the French Revolution. The atheism of the French government appalled religious circles in Britain, and hence the view became general that democracy was identical with license, violence, infidelity and irreligion. This conservative view died hard; the ruling section of the Methodist Church remained strongly Tory for another half-century. The disturbing affair of Peterloo in 1819, resulting in the death of twelve people and the injury of at least one hundred, called forth no protest from the Methodists notwithstanding that radicals all over the country were angry beyond measure.⁷⁴

The affair at Peterloo made it perfectly plain to the country at large that the reaction of the French Revolution period, good for the time being and satisfactory so far in preventing a similar outburst in England, was outmoded. Reform was taking place on every hand,

⁷³Edwards, M., *After Wesley*, pp. 13-36.

⁷⁴*Peterloo*: A large crowd of people met on St. Peter's Field, Manchester, on August 6th, 1819, to carry out a peaceful demonstration in favour of parliamentary reform. There was nothing threatening about the crowd, but the magistrates took alarm, called out the military, and allowed a troop of yeomanry to charge the defenceless people, with disastrous results.

partly because of the recrudescence of reactionary tendencies on the Continent. Huskisson was bringing about fiscal revision, Peel was engaged in reforming the penal code, while Roman Catholics and dissenters gained religious freedom in 1829. Hopes ran high when the Whig Government came into power in 1831 and an act for parliamentary reform was promised. In due course the Reform Act of 1832 was passed, but the working classes were bitterly disappointed with the meagre increase in the franchise, and agitation broke out once more. The result was the birth of Chartism, which became most pronounced in its activity in the years 1837, 1842, 1847 and 1848, all of which were years of acute distress.

Officially the Methodist Church was unsympathetic to Chartism. Methodist people were instructed to hold themselves aloof from the movement. The arrest and transportation of the Dorchester labourers is a case in point. A few agricultural labourers, Methodist local preachers for the most part, in despair at the low standard of living of themselves and their fellows, combined to form an Agricultural Labourers' Union. They were arrested and condemned to transportation. Jabez Bunting, the leader of the Methodists, would have nothing to do with the case and refused to make representations to the authorities on their behalf. According to Mr. Howell, the fact that they were Methodists was probably the chief reason for their arrest. "They were Methodists," he says, "a shocking offence in those days in many villages, especially in Dorset. Indeed, next to poaching, it was the gravest of all offences. Agricultural labourers who could desert the mother Church—well, they could be guilty of anything."⁷⁵ Hatred of the Methodists undoubtedly prompted action on the part of the clergy, but the real reason behind the persecution of the Dorchester labourers was the intention of the magistrates to stamp out any tendencies towards the promotion of societies for the protection of workers or the raising of wages.

In some cases where Methodist members had joined the Chartist organization, individual ministers took drastic action. James Ardrey was expelled from the membership of the society at City Road Chapel on January 7th, 1840, in "that he had joined himself to the 'Chartist Association'" and on that account he "rendered himself unworthy of membership with us."⁷⁶ The minister of Horton Lane Chapel, Bradford, writing in 1841, admits that there were Chartists among his flock

⁷⁵Howell, G., *Labour Legislation, Labour Movements and Labour Leaders*, p. 64.

⁷⁶*Notes from the City Road Minute Books*, The Wesley Historical Society Proceedings, June, 1942, p. 121.

and describes them as "radical subverters of our constitution."⁷⁷ It is thought generally among historians that the Methodist authorities of the period argued syllogistically that Chartists were radicals and radicals were infidels; hence to be a Chartist was to be an unbeliever. If the official attitude of Methodism was conservative, then the behaviour of many of the rank and file, in increasing numbers as the century wore on, was liberal.

"The People's Charter" from which the Chartists took their name was a simple affair really, entirely concerned with parliamentary and electoral reform. It consisted of six points: universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, abolition of all property qualifications, and payment to members of parliament for services. Many Christians espoused this cause and endued these simple ideals with a religious quality. They saw in the fulfilment of the charter's objectives, a token of the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. In many towns, Chartist churches were opened or Chartist classes were started in connection with the Methodist Church,—mostly at independent chapels: Primitive Methodist and Methodist New Connexion, but very few in Wesleyan Methodist chapels. William Lovett himself, the draughtsman of "The People's Charter," was brought up as a Bible Christian Methodist; the Rev. J. Rayner Stephens, a great worker for factory reform and Church disestablishment, was deprived of his office as Methodist minister and expelled in 1834. Another Methodist minister named Jackson, living at Stockport, advocated physical force, while another minister, the Rev. James Schofield of the Bible Christian Connexion, was arrested in 1843 on a charge of sedition.⁷⁸

In spite of the firm pressure from above, opinions among the rank and file of Methodism were moving towards the left. The Methodist system of class meetings and the training of local preachers in the art of public speaking, gave many the opportunity of exchanging the pulpit for the platform and the sermon for the political address. Some carried their principles and beliefs with them; others dropped their earlier religious views and adopted others, more secular. Of this latter class was Thomas Cooper, in his early days an acceptable and busy local preacher. Self-educated and cultured, he soon attracted attention and in due course became the leader of the Chartists in Leicester.

⁷⁷J. L. & B. Hammond, *The Age of the Chartists*, p. 248n (quoting from a pamphlet entitled *The Dangers and Duties of the Christian Elector*).

⁷⁸Edwards, M., *This Methodism*, p. 26.

Becoming a local preacher in 1829, he broke with the Wesleyan Methodists in 1834. Of his local preaching he writes: "My engagement in the office of local preacher was a source of rich delight to me," but adds ruefully, after parting from the Methodists, "I cannot help tracing that alienation to its roots in these harsh dealings from ministers and professors of religion."⁷⁹ After the disappearance of Chartism, Cooper threw himself into lecturing and writing, and by 1858 had returned to religion and was as busy as ever with preaching and lecturing from pulpit and platform. His re-conversion is in no small measure due to the influence of his life-long friend, Rev. Dr. Frederick James Jobson, an ex-president of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference and the man to whom Cooper dedicated his autobiography.

Other prominent Methodist local preachers of the period, who were associated with Chartism, were John Skevington, a friend of Thomas Cooper; Joseph Capper of Staffordshire; John Markham of Leicester; John Black, J. Barrett and J. Harrison, all of Nottingham. Chartism, with its emphasis on liberty, found in Methodism a vehicle for its development, and out of the sentiments so largely expressed in the Methodist doctrine and hymns concerning freedom, it built its political gospel. According to Cooper, many of the Chartist songs were written to fit such popular tunes as the "Old Hundredth," "New Crucifixion," and "Calcutta." Cooper, himself, when conducting large political meetings in Leicester market place, usually began with worship, and based his address on words taken from the Scriptures.⁸⁰

It is perhaps in its political aspect that the social influence of the Methodist Revival is most obvious. After Chartist agitation had died down, out of the dying embers of the fire, as it were, sprang up a strong liberal thought and the beginnings of Christian Socialism in the tradition of F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, both of whom were staunch friends of Thomas Cooper. Dr. Wearmouth says that "Methodism was a kind of Radicalism in the religious world, while Radicalism was a sort of Methodism in the political sphere,"⁸¹—an extremely apt way of stating the case. Both Radicals and Methodists were "suspect" and for that reason came together as all rebels do.

This democratic tendency led to several far-reaching (for those days) reforms, one outstanding advance being the place given to women in the various branches of Methodism, particularly the Primitive Metho-

⁷⁹Cooper, T., *Life* (Autobiography), 1897 Edit., pp. 89 and 102.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 160-169. This book is a very interesting record of Chartism and is especially helpful for its sidelights on the Methodism of the period.

⁸¹Wearmouth, R. F., *Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England, 1800-1850*, p. 218.

dist and United Methodist Connexions.⁸² The Bible Christians recognized the importance of women from the first. Their founder, William O'Bryan, held that "Scripture, reason, history and experience" supported woman's claim to share in the work of God. O'Bryan's wife and daughter, Mary, were among the first and most energetic of the preachers. By 1822 two women, Catherine Reed and Ann Cory, were wooing crowds in the London streets, while Mary O'Bryan had commenced rescue work among the street women of the metropolis. In 1819, so successfully did the women work, that of the thirty traveling preachers, fourteen were women. By 1823 over one hundred women were serving. Three are especially worthy of mention: Johanna Brooks Neale, expelled for testifying in Morwenstow Parish Church, joined William O'Bryan and carried through a most successful revival; Mary Toms conceived the idea of, and carried out, the evangelisation of the Isle of Wight; Mary Anne Werry went to the Scilly Isles in 1821 and to the Channel Islands in 1823, preaching and teaching, laying the foundations of a robust Methodist group in each place. The Bible Christian tradition has persisted in these places ever since.⁸³

The Primitive Methodists relied much on the work of women also, the names of Mary Porteous and Elizabeth Smith being particularly famous. The *Minutes of Conference* of 1832 give the names of thirteen women preachers. "Primitive Methodism began with the belief practically held that there was no sex limitation in church work."⁸⁴ It would appear from these examples that Methodism had reached a conclusion upon sex equality at least a century ahead of the state.

The Methodists, however, were pioneers in other directions, too, more especially where working-class movements were concerned. Trade unionism, the cooperative societies, temperance, adult education, friendly societies and politics, each drew largely upon the body of Methodist local preachers and class leaders for support and guidance. It is not surprising, therefore, that in due time the Methodist people, slowly and surely building up a tradition of social service, should have come to the fore in works of reform, notably philanthropic and educational.

⁸²A word of explanation regarding the various Methodist groups may be fitting: the Primitive Methodists split off from the original body in 1796; the Methodist New Connexion, with William Thom and Alexander Kilham at its head, started in 1797. In 1907 a union between the Methodist New Connexion, the Bible Christian Methodists (established between 1815 and 1826), and the United Methodist Free Church (a collection of smaller Methodist bodies), took place under the style of the United Methodist Church.

⁸³Townsend, Workman & Eayrs: *A New History of Methodism*, Vol. I, pp. 509 and 510.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 585.

Wesley himself had done much to encourage the establishment of Sunday Schools. Writing to Richard Rodda of Chester in 1787, Wesley refers to the "blessed work of setting up Sunday Schools in Chester." He continues: "It seems to me that these will be one great means of reviving religion throughout the nation."⁸⁵ He records preaching to the Sunday School at Wigan on Friday, April 18th, 1788, and gives an account of the singing of the Bolton Sunday School scholars on the following day.⁸⁶ Education in England during the second half of the eighteenth century was, in the main, indifferent where the working classes and the poor were concerned. There were three types of school which catered to these classes: the charity schools started in 1698 by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and which merely taught children to read and write; the "Dames' Schools," which were disorderly and inadequate; and the schools of industry which trained pauper children for industry. For the reason, therefore, that these schools were unable to meet the growing demands for education from a rapidly increasing population, the importance of the Sunday Schools is emphasised. On July 18th, 1784, Wesley preached in Bingley and visited the Sunday School there. He found two hundred and forty children being taught by several masters each Sunday from 8 A. M. until 6 P. M. In his opinion, by means of the Sunday School, children "are restrained from open sin, and taught a little good manners, at least, as well as to read the Bible." He states that schools were springing up wherever he went.⁸⁷

Wesley's followers succeeded in getting Sunday Schools established in most of the large towns, and the conference of 1854 received a report that the number of scholars in the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday Schools was 401,763; within fifty years more the figure was in excess of a million.⁸⁸ Day schools had been opened in a few places like London, Bristol and Newcastle, and in the course of the first fifty years of the nineteenth century their numbers increased quickly. The Methodist authorities were alive to the importance and utility of such undertakings, and the 1857 conference received a report that there were 434 day schools open, attended by 52,630 scholars.⁸⁹ The influence spread to other denominations, and Sunday Schools continued to grow in numbers and quality. In 1835, for instance, "at the annual meeting of the Sunday School Society which was representative of all the Churches, it

⁸⁵*Letters*: Standard Edit., Vol. VII, p. 364.

⁸⁶*Journal*: Standard Edit., Vol. VII, pp. 356 and 357.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸⁸Edward, M., *John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century*, p. 139.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 143.

was reported that 27,365 spelling books, 6,605 alphabets on boards, 5,853 primers, 720 Bibles and 3,852 New Testaments had been distributed in the year."⁹⁰

Methodist Sunday Schools, not always conducted in connection with specific churches, began to fill one of the greatest needs of the age and really initiated the movement for universal education. Dr. Edwards is of the opinion that Methodism and the Established Church, together, formed the greatest force for popular education in England; and that, during the early years of the nineteenth century, Methodism devoted its attention primarily, in the field of education, to the instruction of those who were neglected and underprivileged.⁹¹

What was true in the realms of education and culture was true in respect of humanitarianism and philanthropy. Wesley, himself an avowed enemy of the slave trade, as we have seen, wrote strongly against it. His encouragement of Wilberforce and his influence with his own followers had prepared some kind of public opinion in favour of abolition. The agitation prior to the debate in the House of Commons on the subject of abolition, which took place on April 2nd and 3rd, 1792, produced several large petitions, including one from the Methodists containing 229,426 signatures.⁹² During the whole of the period in which the question of abolition was under review until 1833, the year in which slavery was abolished within the British Empire, the Methodist witness against the evil trade had been faithfully maintained.

Wilberforce is really the connecting link between Wesley, the Methodist Revival, and the larger aspect of Christian philanthropy which became active from about 1790 onwards. Wilberforce had contracted a close friendship in political circles with the brothers, Henry and Robert Thornton, who, like Wilberforce, were members of Parliament. The families were connected by marriage, and when Henry Thornton purchased his property at Clapham, in South London, his house became the resort of "men and women from all parts of the country, of many different walks of life and of a variety of religious persuasions,"⁹³ many of whom shared that strong uncompromising attitude of thought characteristic of the Evangelical revival. This group, which became known as the Clapham Sect, included such figures as Granville Sharp, the abolitionist; Thomas Scott, the Bible commentator; Hannah More, the Sunday School founder; John Venn, rector of Clapham Parish Church; Joseph Butterworth, M. P., and Thomas Thomson, M. P., two influential Methodist philanthropists. The societies that were founded

⁹⁰Edwards, M., *After Wesley*, p. 105.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁹³Payne, E. A., *The Church Awakes*, p. 45.

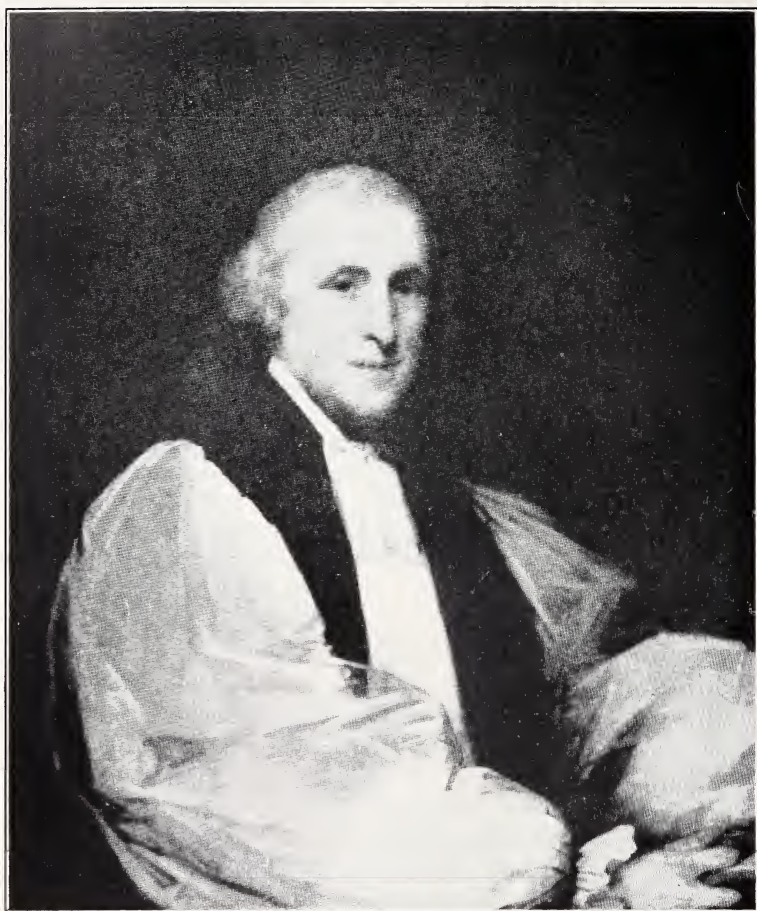
and sponsored by members of the Clapham Sect included the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Society for the Establishment of Sunday Schools (afterwards the Sunday School Union), and the Society for Suppression of Vice. Wilberforce, himself, was perhaps the central figure of the brilliant company which made up the group. As Mr. Payne points out, Wilberforce "and his friends were not only the benefactors of the slaves; they played an essential part in laying the foundations of the world-wide Christian Church of our own time."⁹⁴ Wilberforce died in 1833, but not before he had the joy of knowing that slavery had been abolished within the British Empire. Wesley's *Athanasius contra mundum* had overcome.⁹⁵ Addressing the House of Commons on the day that Wilberforce died, his friend, Fowell Buxton, referred to him, in the words of William Cowper, as:

A veteran warrior in the Christian field,
Who never saw the sword he could not wield.

So the revival which had begun in Oxford a century before, had won its widening way and the whole nation had felt its social impact. The little stream which had gushed out so many years before in Oxford had become a mighty river, flowing through and cleansing the heart of England.

⁹⁴Payne, E. A., *The Church Awakes*, p. 47.

⁹⁵See note 59. Wesley refers in this letter to Wilberforce as an *Athanasius contra mundum*.



THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM WHITE, D. D.
APRIL 4, 1748—JULY 17, 1836

ORDAINED DEACON, DECEMBER 23, 1770; PRIEST, APRIL 25, 1772;
BISHOP, FEBRUARY 4, 1787

ASSISTANT MINISTER, UNITED CHURCHES OF CHRIST CHURCH
AND ST. PETER'S, 1772-1779; RECTOR, 1779-1836

FIRST BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1787-1836

PRESIDING BISHOP, 1795-1836

HE WAS THE CONSECRATOR OF TWENTY-SIX BISHOPS, BEGINNING
WITH ROBERT SMITH OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AND ENDING WITH JACK-
SON KEMPER OF THE NORTHWEST. HE WAS A CO-CONSECRATOR OF
THOMAS JOHN CLAGGETT OF MARYLAND, THE FIRST BISHOP CONSE-
CRATED IN AMERICA (1792).

BISHOP WHITE'S THEOLOGY

The Theological Writings of Bishop White, Selected Essays, with an Introductory Survey, by Sidney A. Temple, Jr., Ph. D.
(New York, King's Crown Press, 1946)¹

A REVIEW

*By William Wilson Manross**

The relationship between ideas and events is one of the most interesting problems of history, and a question of some practical importance as well. If we could determine with any degree of certainty to what extent ideas can shape events, and to what extent they are shaped by events, we would have made substantial progress towards answering the crucial question: How far can human beings, by conscious effort, direct the course of social development? Unfortunately, many discussions of this topic are rendered of little value through being concerned too much with broad generalizations, not founded on that detailed study of the evidence in particular cases without which any historical judgment is worthless.

If such a detailed study were ever undertaken the role of Bishop William White in the organization of the American Episcopal Church after the Revolution might well merit attention, for there can be no doubt that he was largely influential in introducing several distinctive features of its polity, notably the federal character of its government, the representation of the laity in its councils, and the requirement of their assent for ordination to any branch of the ministry. The question, how far, in advocating these measures, White was merely conforming to the conditions of his time, and how far he was influenced by previously formed theoretical opinions, is one of some general interest, apart from its importance for the understanding of this particular period of Church history.

¹This is the title as given on the title page. In a recent catalog of Columbia University Press, of which King's Crown Press is a division, the book is listed as *The Commonsense Theology of Bishop White*.

*Dr. Manross is the author of *William White, A Sketch of the First Bishop of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1934); *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York and Milwaukee, 1935); *The Episcopal Church in the United States 1800-1840: A Study in Church Life* (New York, 1938), and numerous articles in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* and other periodicals.—*Editor's Note*.

The consideration of this problem has, in the past, been complicated by a widespread misunderstanding of White's theological views. This misunderstanding, which began in the bishop's own lifetime, was the result, partly, of the desire of all parties in the Church to claim the patriarch as their own, and, partly, of the obscurity of his literary style; but, chiefly, it is believed, of the fact that, while his opinions did not change much with the years, other people's did, so that his thinking became separated from its original frame of reference.

The work now under consideration should do much to clear up this confusion. Dr. Temple has made a representative selection from Bishop White's theological writings, covering the most important issues with which he dealt, and has prefaced them with an able introductory survey, in which he analyses White's opinions, and explains the intellectual background out of which they developed. After a careful comparison of the introduction and the selections, the present reviewer is well satisfied that the author's interpretation is amply supported by the documents. Dr. Temple's style, in contrast to White's, is admirably lucid, so that his essay can be easily understood by anyone having an elementary acquaintance with the language of theology and philosophy.

Neither the survey nor the selections give a complete system of divinity, for the excellent reason that White never published any. His writings were all directed to the solution of special problems, or the settling of definite issues, but there is in them none of the hasty or superficial thinking which sometimes characterizes such *ad hoc* productions. They are particular applications of a system of ideas that was evidently well thought out, even if never fully elucidated, and it is possible to infer from them his stand on most of the important questions of Christian belief.

In the first chapter of this introduction the author sketches his subject's social and educational background. The circumstance that White was the son of Church parents preserved him from the convert's bias, which, unless he is a man of unusual intellectual breadth, tends to make one attach an exaggerated importance to the aspects of Church teaching which first attracted him. The future bishop grew up in a home characterized by wealth, culture, kindness, and simple piety, an atmosphere calculated to produce a balanced judgment, and sincere, if not intensely emotional, religious devotion. His scholastic training was received in the Philadelphia Academy and College, the precursor of the University of Pennsylvania. This institution, founded under the auspices of Benjamin Franklin, with the liberal Anglican, William Smith, at its head, was a pioneer in the modern ideals of secular education, at a time when the other five American colleges were still primarily training schools

for the ministry. Logic, philosophy, and natural philosophy, or science, received more emphasis than theology in its curriculum.

With such an intellectual background, White was not unnaturally attracted to the philosophical empiricism of John Locke. His approach to the problems of theology and polity was always an empirical one, laying great stress on scriptural and historical evidence. The author probably does not exaggerate in saying, "In his discipleship of Locke he was perhaps as thoroughgoing as any theologian has ever been." Since Locke, as Dr. Temple also notes, furnished "the political philosophy of the American patriots," this mental outlook enabled White to speak to the men of the Revolutionary era in language which they could comprehend, but it may have contributed to the misunderstanding of his thought in the nineteenth century.

He heard Whitefield preach twice, and was impressed by his ability as an elocutionist, but he was not attracted by his teaching, disliked his emotionalism, and disapproved of his slighting of ecclesiastical discipline. He was also repelled by the pietism of William Law and Jacob Boehme, to which he was introduced by two of his predecessors in the rectorship of Christ Church, Richard Peters and Jacob Duché. It is not surprising, therefore, that, without changing his own views, he became alienated from the low church party when, in his later years, it was captured by the Evangelicals.

That White's empiricism was fundamentally, not just incidentally, religious, is shown in Dr. Temple's second chapter, and in the related selections: "The Source of Knowledge," originally delivered as the first commencement address at General Seminary, in 1823; and "An Argument in Favor of Divine Revelation," first published in *The Protestant Episcopal Magazine*, vol. III. Not only did he regard revelation as furnishing an essential portion of the data upon which empirical judgments were to be based, but, while holding that men's perceptions, interpreted by reason, formed the only media through which they could arrive at truth, he also maintained that the right exercise of these faculties required the assistance of divine grace. Without this aid, men were, he held, in danger both of accidental error, and of the distortion of judgment by passion. Since he believed that a holy life furnished the best evidence of one's being under the influence of grace, he, in effect, asserted a presumption in favor of the judgment of religious men as opposed to those who were irreligious, though it is not known that he ever insisted upon this presumption in argument. Doubtless, he foresaw the objections to which such insistence would give rise.

White rejected the idea, popular, in his day, not only among the deists, but among many orthodox believers, also, that the essential doc-

trines of religion could be deduced from an observance of natural phenomena. The human mind, he held, was incapable of arriving at an even approximately correct idea of God without the aid of revelation. When belief in God, in anything like the Christian sense, appeared in other religions, he maintained that they had derived it from Christianity or Judaism. In the two instances to which he gave most attention, those of Deism and Mohammedanism, he was undoubtedly correct.

In carrying out this argument, he cast aside Paley's watch, one of the most popular apologetic gadgets of his day, observing that the supposed finder of the watch must have been prepared for his recognition of it as a product of human contrivance "by his familiarity with the instrument, and by his knowledge of the dependence of the machinery on the will of the constructor." Similarly, a believer prepared by revelation, might find confirmation of what he had learned in contemplating the works of nature, but it did not follow that he could be led to a belief in God by that means alone. The inference of a Supreme Contriver from an analogy between the universe and human inventions holds good only if there is presumed to be so close a similarity between them as to permit the argument to proceed from one to the other. Paley and most of his contemporaries did hold such a mechanical view of the cosmos, but the subsequent history of Mechanism would seem to confirm White's opinion that it tended to irreligion rather than to religion.

The bishop went so far in his opposition to natural religion as to postulate a definite flight from God on the part of fallen man, holding that the correct theology revealed to Adam had degenerated into idolatry because of "those frailties which indispose men to the contemplation of an ever-present God." He did not, however, go to the length of adopting the opposite extreme of rationalism, belief in direct inspiration. Though he did not categorically deny the possibility of such inspiration, his warnings against the danger of being deluded by passion and prejudice masquerading in its form were so emphatic as to indicate that he considered it more dangerous than useful as a means of practical guidance.

He also rejected the related idea that the Scriptures were "self-vindicating," through the direct affirmation of their truth by the Holy Spirit, dwelling in the spirit of the regenerate believer. The basis of his faith was always a historical revelation, historically verified and historically interpreted. Because of this attitude, he showed more respect for patristic tradition than some Protestant theologians have done. Such authority as he accorded it, however, was based, not on any theory of a supplementary, interpretive revelation to the Church, but upon the simple historical principle that those nearest to the sacred writings in point of time were in the best position to understand their meaning. Conse-

quently, he drew a sharp distinction between the ante- and post-Nicene fathers, and, among the former, attached the greatest weight to those of the sub-apostolic age.

Dr. Temple is probably right in believing that White's approach to the Scriptures makes him spiritually and intellectually akin to those who, since his day, have sought to verify their authenticity by the technique of higher criticism, though it is not known that he was acquainted with the beginnings of this science which were made in his own lifetime, except as it may have been faintly foreshadowed in the commentaries of Bishop Lowth. These were included in the syllabus of theological studies that he drew up at the request of General Convention.

Dr. Temple's third chapter deals with the important topic of White's doctrine of the Church. The discussion of this subject is based mainly on the bishop's earliest and most famous pamphlet, *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*, the relevant portions of which are reprinted among the selections. Though the most controversial proposal of this pamphlet, the ordination of ministers by the collective authority of the presbyters, with lay consent, was predicated upon an expected emergency which failed to develop, this reviewer believes that the author is right in holding that the theory of the Church, upon which this and the other recommendations were based, was the product of White's mature judgment, and continued to be held by him throughout his life. There is no evidence that he ever retracted it, and there are numerous allusions in his later writings which indicate that he retained it in all its essentials. Some people, it is true, if confronted with an emergency, will recommend measures which are the fruit of heedlessness and panic, but the advice of a thoughtful man, such as White certainly was, will always be based upon opinions carefully formed in advance of the crisis.

White believed that the Church could, in a case of necessity, continue to function, and replenish its ministry, even if deprived temporarily of the episcopal succession. He believed this for the simple reason that, while he regarded episcopacy as of primitive and probably apostolic origin, and thought that it should be retained wherever possible, he did not consider it essential to the existence of a Christian church. This was the traditional low church position, and, as he showed by numerous citations, it was the general position of reformed Anglicanism prior to the rise of Stuart high churchmanship, a party which he characterized, in two treatises written forty years later,² as advocating a retro-

²"Sacrifice, Altar, Priest." 1820; and "The Basis of Knowledge," 1823, both reproduced in the present work.

gression to pre-Reformation ideas. As he himself summed up the issue in the *Case*: "That the Apostles adopted any particular form, affords a presumption of its being best, all circumstances at that time considered; but to make it unalterably binding, it must be shown enjoined in positive precept."

So far as our internal arrangements are concerned, this question has become largely academic, since there is no likelihood of the Church's again being in danger of losing the succession, but it is still of some practical importance in its bearing on external ecclesiastical relations. Whatever our belief as to the antiquity and value of episcopacy, dare we, in the absence of a clear and unequivocal command that this form of ministry, and this only, shall be perpetually continued, deny the existence of valid orders in churches which, though deprived of the episcopal succession, have shown themselves fruitful in Christian labors?

Apart from the question of succession, White, at the time that he wrote the *Case*, had a low opinion of the authority of a bishop, holding him to be simply a "permanent president, who, in conjunction with other clergymen to be also appointed by the body, may exercise such powers as are purely spiritual, particularly that of admitting to the ministry." In the opinion of Dr. Temple, "This is a picture of the bishops and presbyters which probably approaches closely to the form of organization which held in the earliest Christian centuries." The present reviewer, who decided long ago that the evidence did not warrant the formation of any definite theory as to the organization of the primitive Church, can only note this opinion as one which may excite an interesting controversy. In this one particular, it is probable that White did subsequently modify his views, at least in practice. In his later years, possibly under the influence of Bishop Hobart, he exercised a more decided leadership in his diocese than would seem to be implied by the doctrine of a permanent presidency.

More important historically, because they became a permanent feature of our ecclesiastical constitution, were White's proposals for a federal organization of the Church, and the representation of the laity in its government. A federal organization was probably the only one that could have been adopted at the time, because of state and local jealousies, but, to White, it was not merely an arrangement of convenience. He believed that it was sound in principle. He agreed with the Congregationalists in holding the basic equality of all local churches, but, unlike them (in their original theory, at least), he did not stop there. He recognized the necessity of a general organization, and held that such powers as were necessary for the good of the whole should be

delegated to a central authority, a view which was a natural outgrowth of the empirical character of his thought. As Dr. Temple observes, "This might be called the inductive conception of the church which begins with the particular religious communities or parishes, and thence argues to the central government, rather than coming from the 'universal,' be he king or pope, and radiating downward."

The representation of the laity was also in accord with the spirit of the times, because of its democratic, or, as the men of that day would have preferred to say, its republican character. To White, it was also the restoration of a practice of the primitive Church, lost in the later days of general corruption. He believed that the right of the laity to have a voice in the election of bishops was not denied in the Roman Church until the tenth or eleventh century. Its rejection in England he regarded as "an usurpation of the crown at the Norman conquest, since confirmed by acts of Parliament."

It is possible that Dr. Temple, following the thought of the bishop, exaggerates the difference between the Church of England and the American Episcopal Church in this respect. The basis for lay control over the Church of England was laid at the time of the Reformation, when the king was declared to be its supreme head. In later years the authority of the crown, in this, as in other matters, became, in effect, though not in name, the authority of Parliament. It is true that there is an important theoretical distinction between this descending authority, whatever its origin, and the ascending authority in the American Church, but, in English history, theory usually lags behind practice, being devised, in an empirical spirit of which White should have approved, to explain institutions after they have developed. The authority of Parliament does, in fact, give the laity a voice in Church affairs. Probably it is less satisfactory than the American method, both because it comes at the wrong point in the process, and because the laity involved include persons who are not Church members, but, when managed with the spirit of accommodation and compromise with which the English usually operate their sometimes cumbersome institutions, it works out well enough.

Dr. Temple's fourth chapter deals with White's doctrine of man. Though references to this occur in most of the selections, the two chiefly concerned with it are, "The Analogy of the Understanding and the Will," from an unpublished manuscript, and "Of Philosophic Necessity," from *Comparative Views of the Controversy between the Calvinists and the Arminians*, published in 1817.

White rejected the doctrine of philosophic necessity on the grounds usually taken by the defenders of free will. It contradicted, he said, our

consciousness of choice, precluded any moral appraisal of human conduct, and, if carried to its logical conclusion, corresponded with the pagan idea of fate, to which even the gods were subject. He also laid some stress on the possibility of motiveless actions, such as the advancing of one foot rather than another when we start to move. Paraphrasing the scholastic figment of the donkey starving between two equal pieces of hay, he declared that, without free will, a man placed at an equal distance from two equal sources of gratification would simply stand still. These arguments are a curious mixture of the *a priori* and the pragmatic rather than the truly inductive. They suggest that White's empiricism weakened a bit when he ventured into the field of metaphysics.

His own doctrine of the will did not provide so clear a place for freedom as his critique of necessity would lead one to suppose. In drawing an analogy between the will and the understanding, he was led by his Lockian psychology to see them both as blank tablets, upon which experience was to write, "They are," he said, "alike inoperative, rather they are non-existent, until caused and brought into exercise by objects exterior to the agents." It is true that he used the term "will" in the sense of volition-in-action, and that he allowed for a pre-existent "power of devoting our attention to a certain subject in preference to another," but he was emphatic in his insistence that this latent power had no character of its own until the will of the subject had been formed by experience of the desirability of certain external objects and the undesirability of others. This was true with respect to the simplest appetites, as well as with regard to actions having a moral character.

In what sense can a will thus created by its environment be called free? It may be allowed to have a limited freedom, in that, once it has achieved some degree of development, it can, in any given situation, choose a course of action not prompted by the strongest immediate stimulus, or any immediate stimulus, but dictated by its previously formed disposition. This limited freedom may account for the consciousness of choice, and it may even permit a restricted moral appraisal of an individual's conduct, if we take him as he is, without inquiring how he got that way. It does not, however, exempt the will from the determinate influence of causation, which was the sort of freedom postulated by White in his argument against necessity.

This theory of the will was not an isolated element in his theology. It formed the basis for his interpretation of original sin, which Dr. Temple regards as one of his greatest contributions. Opposing the ideas of inherited guilt, and of a "federal headship," whereby the whole race was supposed to have shared in the sin of Adam as its representative, he

maintained that the punishment for the fall was simply the loss of immortality, which, having been conferred on Adam as a gift, could properly be retracted when he proved unworthy of it. This loss was attended with an incidental decline in the fertility of the earth. As a result of these changes, man was subjected to various ills and necessities that gave rise to temptations which his nature, being of itself neither good nor bad, was unable to resist without God's help.

What help was given, partly, through revelation, showing man the right path and the reward of taking it, and partly, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, acting on his spirit and disposing it towards the good. Without grace, White believed, no one could make any advance towards raising himself from his fallen condition, but the bishop rejected Calvin's idea that grace was thrust upon certain elect persons without any previous merit on their part. Grace, he declared, was free to all, requiring only an act of faith and obedience to make it operative. He did not explain how a man, incapable of doing anything towards his own salvation, could perform this initial act.

The difficulties and inconsistencies of this doctrine of man do not destroy the value of its various elements. The only theologians who have worked out consistent theories of man's relation to God have achieved their results by ignoring important aspects of Christian experience. White's explanation of the fall and its effects was open to less grave moral objections than the idea of inherited guilt, though attributing man's liability to sin to the effect of his divinely created environment can hardly be said to exempt God from responsibility for it. Dr. Temple suggests that, pursuing the empirical method of the bishop, we could, while retaining the other aspects of his theory, reject the idea of the fall as unsupported by evidence now considered acceptable. It may be added that this would have more than the negative advantage of discarding an obsolete belief. If we regard man's moral weakness, and the temptations of his environment, as the result of his and its imperfect development in a process of creation still going on, and to which he is, perhaps, expected to contribute, we do not, of course, solve all the theoretical problems connected with the existence of evil, but we do offer an explanation of it which is less morally obnoxious than that which sees it as the consequence, in any form, of divine wrath at some primordial transgression.

Dr. Temple begins his fifth and final chapter by saying, "William White was a sacramentalist in the fullest meaning of the term." The expression is well chosen. When we say that a person is something in the "fullest meaning of the term," we usually mean that he is not so in the sense in which the term is ordinarily used, and that is true in

the present case. White's views of baptism and the Eucharist, as set forth in this chapter and the related selections, one from the *Comparative Views*, and two from the *Episcopal Magazine*, are sacramental in some degree, but they would hardly be satisfactory to the type of person to whom the word "sacramentalist" is commonly applied.

His doctrine of baptism tended to merge into one the concepts of initiation and regeneration. By a public profession of faith, publicly accepted, in a stipulated ordinance, the baptized person became regenerate, in the eyes of the Church, even if he subsequently proved unworthy, and he also entered a state of grace, in the sense that grace was, by divine covenant, imparted to his spirit, though his deriving any actual benefit therefrom was dependent upon his proper use of the gift. In the case of an adult, this gift would be imparted only if he received the rite in repentance and faith. In the case of an infant, presumed to be sinless, repentance was not required, and the faith of his parents or godparents was accepted in his behalf.

In a letter to Hobart, quoted by Dr. Temple, White wrote: "You see, I am reduced to the necessity of resting the Eucharist on the mere ground of a memorial." He held that this view was sufficient to maintain the dignity and importance of the rite, if there was a due regard to the nature of the event memorialized: The Sacrifice on the Cross. Since grace was involved in the subject commemorated, he believed that it must be imparted in the commemoration. He was unwilling to apply the term "sacrifice" to the Eucharist itself, except in the figurative sense of the Prayer Book phrase, "a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." He objected to calling the holy table an altar, and he maintained that the word "priest" was employed, in Anglican usage, only as a translation of *presbyteros*, and never in the sense of *iereus* or *sacerdotus*.

It is difficult to make anything more of this than a slightly sacramentalized Zwinglianism. Certainly, White's language on this subject is less sacramental in tone than that of Calvin, who said of Christ's presence in the Eucharist:

"I will not be ashamed to confess that it is too high a mystery either for my mind to comprehend or my words to express; and to speak more plainly, I rather feel than understand it. The truth of God, therefore, in which I can safely rest, I here embrace without controversy. He declares that his flesh is the meat, his blood the drink of my soul; I give my soul to him to be fed with such food. In his sacred Supper he bids me take, eat, and drink his body and blood under the symbols of bread and wine. I have no doubt that he will truly give

and I receive. Only, I regret the absurdities which appear to be unworthy of the heavenly majesty of Christ, and are inconsistent with the reality of his human nature."³

It is, therefore, a trifle harsh of Dr. Temple to attribute White's rejection of the Calvinistic doctrine of grace to the supposed fact that "its basic dualism was especially inimical to his sacramental position." The sacramental theory necessarily involves a certain degree of dualism, for it presupposes the existence of matter and spirit as distinct aspects of reality. To a materialist, the elements of the Lord's Supper can acquire new value in the act of consecration only if a change is wrought in their physical properties. To a consistent idealist, they are, even before consecration, mere projections of mind, either the divine Mind, or the mind of the beholder, and, hence, as spiritual in their essence as the gifts they convey. Sacramentalism, to be sure, cannot admit of so sharp a dualism as would preclude the interaction of spirit and matter, but no such extreme doctrine was presented by Calvin, in his theory of grace, or anywhere else.

Because of the mildness of White's sacramental position, one is also inclined to question Dr. Temple's belief that it represented the principal basis of his opposition to the Evangelicals. He did disagree with them in his doctrine of baptism. Though he recognized that their objection to the use of the word "regeneration" in connection with the sacrament was largely a question of phraseology, he felt that they were too "cautious of acknowledging, concerning infants, that, by the act of baptism, they are put into what is known under the familiar expression of a state of grace."

Nevertheless, it is probable that his chief grounds of discontent with them were disciplinary and psychological. Many of the Evangelicals used extempore prayer at the end of the regular services, and most of them held extra services of a non-liturgical character. Some also shortened the Prayer Book services, so as to allow more time for the sermon. White disapproved of all these practices. The emotionalism of Evangelical preaching disturbed the natural serenity of his mind, and his aristocratic reticence was offended by the public discussion of the spiritual condition of individuals.

Dr. Temple's plan, which is to explain the more distinctive features of White's theology, does not require a discussion of his teaching concerning the Trinity, but, in view of the vagueness of many eighteenth-century divines in regard to this dogma, it may be well to note that the

³John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, tr. by Henry Beveridge (Edinburgh, 1845), vol. III, p. 431.

bishop held an orthodox position. In a sermon delivered at a critical point in Church history, the opening of the General Convention of 1786, he presented the doctrine of the Trinity as the essence of Christian teaching.⁴

Though the author is careful and thorough in his detailed analysis, he is sometimes careless in the phrasing of general statements. In his preface he says that White's theology "follows in the English tradition of the Carolinian Divines," though he has shown clearly that the bishop did not belong to the school usually described by this phrase. He puts the matter more accurately on page 39, where he says, "The Reformation theologians, especially those of the reigns of Edward I (*sic*) and Elizabeth, were his standard authorities, and his decisions agreed with the position of Richard Hooker. Not once, but repeatedly, he claimed to be of the school of Bp. Burnet . . . and of John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury." Burnet began his career during the reign of Charles II, but he was not of the Stuart, or high church party, and came into a position of influence only after the accession of William III, whose chaplain he had been. Tillotson had been accounted a Presbyterian in the days of the Commonwealth, but submitted to the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He was elevated to the see of Canterbury by William, succeeding a displaced non-juror. To these names might be added that of Benjamin Hoadly, the originator of the Bangorian controversy, successively bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester (1715-1761), of whom White makes frequent and respectful mention. The reviver of Carolinian theology in America was not White, but Hobart.

On page 17 Dr. Temple says, "The Deists, Calvinists, and Quakers had in common an assumption not acceptable to the empirical approach of White. The mind does not have natural moral tendencies, nor yet a direct insight into the divine plan." Of the two distinct propositions here lumped together as one "assumption," the first may have been held by the deists, and the second by the Quakers, but neither was held by the Calvinists.

At present Bishop White's theology is a subject of interest chiefly to historians. In the future, who knows? Yesterday's theology is as dead as yesterday's fashions, but the fashions of day before yesterday sometimes become those of tomorrow. In recent years we have witnessed the acquisition of a remarkable vogue, at least in seminary circles, by the nineteenth-century theologian, Kierkegaard. Perhaps his neo-Calvinism, with its sharp contrasts and bold assertions, meets the

⁴William White, *A Sermon Delivered in Christ Church, Jun. 21 1786, at the Opening of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1786, repr., 1880), p. 14.

need of this turbulent age, but, should our present revolutionary epoch be succeeded by an era of orderly, democratic progress, the calm, judicious empiricism of White may acquire a fresh appeal. If that should happen, those wishing to become acquainted with the most important aspects of his thought, without searching through all his writings, will find in Dr. Temple's work a convenient and authoritative guide.

A HISTORY OF ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH NEW YORK CITY*

By Shelton H. Bishop

On Saturday morning, May 1, 1943, the congregation of St. Philip's Church, with their rector, the presiding bishop of the Church, the diocesan, members of the clergy from various parts of the country, distinguished laymen, and persons from all walks of life, filled the church to overflowing, to witness the consecration of the church, and to take part in its 125th anniversary celebration. Today, this congregation numbers 2,900, there are 700 children in the church school, and in normal times property now held by the parish would be valued at close to \$1,000,000. This phenomenal growth of a parish over a period of 125 years is perhaps unparalleled in the history of any similar group in the Episcopal Church.

I. THE CHURCH AND THE NEGRO IN COLONIAL NEW YORK

It was in 1625, or perhaps 1626, that the first Negro slaves were brought into New Amsterdam. But what is far too easily forgotten is the fact that each Negro slave that was brought to America during the four centuries of the African slave trade, was taken from definite and well-established habits of social, political, and religious life. Measured by modern standards of culture, these occupied a prominent place in the cultural pattern. The power of religion was represented by the priest or medicine man, who wielded a power second only to that of the tribal chief, and often superior to it. In some tribes, the African priesthood was even organized, and something like systematic religious institutions emerged. But for four centuries, and this was particularly true of the west coast of Africa, where peaceful kingdoms were overthrown and changed, the slave trade made orderly evolution in political organization or religious belief impossible. This transplantation, then, destroyed every vestige of spontaneous social development. The home deteriorated, political authority and economic initiative became vested

*The first colored parish founded in the diocese of New York. The author of this essay has been rector of the parish since 1933, succeeding his father, the Rev. Dr. Hutchens C. Bishop, in the rectorship.—*Editor's Note.*

in the hands of the masters, property as a social institution ceased to exist on the plantations, and every trace of internal development disappeared, leaving the slaves devoid of any means of social, political, or religious expression.

There were, in the colonies, two distinct schools of thought concerning the problems of slavery. One denied the right of a human being to enslave another, especially when that person was a Christian. The other believed that slavery helped to Christianize the heathen, since it brought him out of the darkness of the African jungle into the true light of the colonial plantations.

At first many of the English planters were very reluctant to allow their bondsmen to receive any form of religious instruction, fearing that this would foment a "Negro uprising," or that conversion to Christianity would result in manumission. Gradually, however, after much persuasion and assurance, such slave owners allowed their slaves to be baptized and to receive instruction in the catechism.

It is extremely difficult within these brief pages to evaluate satisfactorily the courage, wisdom, and foresight that combined to make up the splendid work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This organization was established in London in 1701, to do missionary work among the heathen, and especially among the Indians and Negroes. At first it confined its ministration to a few places, New England, New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia. It laid down, as its guiding principle, a denial that any race should be disqualified from having the message of salvation brought to it, because of the color of his skin. "Despicable as they (Negroes) are in the eyes of man they are, nevertheless, the creatures of God." And the Society further placed in the hands of its missionaries and schoolmasters the solemn responsibility of instructing the Indian and Negro slaves, so that they might be prepared for conversion, baptism, and communion. As early as 1705, there were in the colony of South Carolina, 1,000 slaves under instruction, "many of whom could read the Bible distinctly and great numbers of them were engaged in learning the Scriptures."

Anglicans carried on their work for Negroes through the S. P. G., founded in 1701; through the Bray Associates, established especially for Negro education in 1723; and through some of the commissaries of the bishop of London. One well known school was the Charleston Negro School, founded by Commissary Alexander Garden in Charleston, South Carolina, and opened for instruction in 1743. In 1747 the Rev. William Sturgeon began his work as catechist to the Negroes in Philadelphia,

and in 1758 became the head of the school for Negroes established in that city by the Bray Associates.¹

But decades earlier, in 1705, the justly famous Elias Neau had been appointed catechist to the Negroes in New York City. Upon his death in 1722 the work was continued down to the War of Independence by a succession of able clergy. In 1760 the Bray Associates established there a school for Negroes.²

In 1703 Elias Neau, a French merchant of remarkable zeal and piety, called the attention of the Society to the large number of blacks in New York, "who were without God in the world, and of whose souls there was no manner of care taken." After several years of imprisonment in France because of his confession to the Protestant faith, followed by seven years in the "gallies," Mr. Neau settled in New York as a trader. He showed great sympathy for the slaves and proposed to the Society that a catechist be appointed to teach them. When, finally, he was prevailed upon to accept the position himself, he gave up his business, and left the French Church where he had been an elder, in order that he might the better conform to the practices of the established Church of England. "Not upon any worldly account, but through a principle of conscience and hearty approbation of English Liturgy," much of which he had learned by heart in his dungeons. Later when he became known as the "Glorious Professor," many persons felt that his period of training both in prison and in the galleys had deepened his zeal and broadened his sympathy for this great task.

He was granted a license from the governor of New York and he received a sum of fifty pounds annually, "to catechise the Negroes and Indians and children of the town." At first he went from house to house, but finding this too arduous, he gathered the slaves in his own house, and taught them there three days a week. It was not long before he found the upper floor of his house too small to accommodate his 30 pupils. He sought diligently for a church, but could find none. Finally, the Rev. William Vesey, the first rector of Trinity Parish, opened the doors of his church to Elias Neau and his slaves. He taught them on Sundays in the steeple of the church before the sermon, and later led them to his home for further instruction.

In 1706 Mr. Vesey commended Elias Neau to the Society as "a constant communicant of our Church and a most zealous and prudent

¹See Richard I. Shelling, "William Sturgeon, Catechist to the Negroes of Philadelphia," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VIII (1939), 388-401.

²See Frank J. Klingberg, "The S. P. G. Program for Negroes in Colonial New York," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VIII, 306-371; E. L. Pennington, *Thomas Bray's Associates and Their Work Among the Negroes* (Worcester, Mass., 1939).

servant of Christ in proselyting the miserable Negroes and Indians . . . to the Christian religion whereby he does great service to God and His Church." In 1707 Neau had a class of 100, and by 1710 this number had grown to over 200 catechumens.

The slave owners became exceedingly bitter against Elias Neau and his school, because of a Negro uprising in 1712. So much so that for several days Mr. Neau did not dare to show himself out-of-doors, and the local authorities ordered the school closed. When, however, upon investigation it was found that the slaves who took part in the riot were not connected with the school, and that they had done so because of the wretched conditions under which they lived, the city permitted him to reopen his school. But the seeds of distrust and bitterness had already been sown, and Neau found it necessary to call the attention of the clergy of New York to the "many oppositions" that he met from "the generality of the Inhabitants" who were "strangely prejudiced with a horrid notion thinking that the Christian knowledge would be a mean to make their slaves more cunning and apter to wickedness."

Governor Hunter visited the school in person, and was so impressed with the work that he ordered all of his slaves to attend it. He also issued a proclamation recommending the clergy to urge their congregations to encourage the instruction of their slaves. As was to be expected, this created a most favorable impression. Later, the governor and the council, the mayor, the recorder, and the chief justice, informed the Society that Elias Neau had "performed his work to the great advancement of religion in general and the particular benefit of the free Indians, Negro slaves and other heathens in these parts, with indefatigable zeal and application."

On September 15, 1722, Elias Neau, great humanitarian, friend of Indian and Negro slaves, and pioneer in the field of religious education among Negroes, ended his earthly labors. After Mr. Neau's death William Huddleston was appointed in his place. He was succeeded by the Rev. James Wetmore. In 1726 the Rev. Thomas Colgan was appointed on the representation of the rector, church wardens and vestry of Trinity Church. There were then 1,400 Negro and Indian slaves, "a considerable number of which have been instructed in the principles of Christianity by Mr. Neau . . . and have received baptism and are communicants in the Church."

During the remainder of the Society's stay in the colonies the work was carried on under an ordained missionary. From 1732-1740 the Rev. Richard Charlton baptized 214 person, 24 of whom were adults. And frequently afterwards, total baptisms numbered from 40 to 60 persons. This clergyman who went to Staten Island, after leaving New

York, reported that he found it not only practical but "most convenient to throw into one the classes of his white and black catechumens." The same plan was adopted by the Rev. John Sayre, of Newburgh, who catechised white and black children in each of his four churches.

The Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, who served from 1747-1764, reported an ever increasing desire among the Negroes for instruction, and that "not one single Black admitted by him to the Holy Communion had turned out bad or been in any shape a disgrace to our holy profession." It is also gratifying to learn from Mr. Auchmuty that at this time the masters of the slaves were "much more desirous than they used to be of having them instructed," and as a consequence the number of catechumens increased notably. In contrast to this, however, the Rev. Mr. Barclay found in Albany "a great readiness on the part of the slaves to receive instruction," but that the masters were so "perverted and ignorant that their consent could not be gained by any intreaties." Great care was taken in the preparation of the slaves for baptism. And it is generally agreed that the Christian knowledge of some of them was "such as might have put to shame many persons who possessed far greater advantages."

II. BEGINNINGS OF ST. PHILIP'S PARISH

Like other institutions in the city, Trinity Parish felt the effects of the Revolutionary War. But when hostilities ceased, and the Society was no longer able to carry on its work, the clergy of Trinity Church took up again the task of training the slaves, for slavery continued to exist in New York until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1805, as it might well be imagined, there was to be found in the city a distinct congregation of Negro Episcopalians. And this group, in a very real sense, formed the nucleus and subsequently became the founders of St. Philip's Parish. That same year Trinity Church bought a plot of land to be used as a burial ground for its Negro wards, and stipulated that should a distinct church organization ever be formed, the rights of this burial ground should be transferred to the new Parish.

This ardent group of colored Episcopalians met on Sunday afternoons in Trinity Church until 1810. But they grew in numbers so rapidly that a room had to be found in a building on William Street. They were now under the leadership of one Thomas McCombs. Later the congregation moved to a room over a carpenter's shop on Cliff Street, between Peck Slip and Beekman Street. This room was very poorly furnished, and was lighted by candles fixed in square blocks.

The year 1812 introduces us to a Negro lay reader by the name

of Peter Williams, who was destined to become the first rector of the parish, and one of the first Negroes to be ordained to the priesthood in the Episcopal Church. He was a man of unusual beginnings. His father was for a number of years the sexton of the John Street Methodist Church, and was remarkable for his piety and fidelity. He joined with other Negroes desirous of independent church action in establishing the Zion Church, out of which emerged the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Peter Williams, the son, however, became an Episcopalian, was educated for the ministry, and served as rector of St. Philip's Church until 1840. In this position he distinguished himself as a man of great usefulness and influence, touching the life of his people whenever the opportunity presented itself. We see the children gathered around him for an hour every Sunday morning before the service. And we could hear him instruct them in the catechism. Bishop Payne, who came in contact with him in 1835, found him well educated, hospitable and generous. And, said Bishop Payne, "he loved to see talented young men educating themselves and substantially aided more than one in his efforts."

Perhaps it would not be out of place to note here that this movement in support of public worship that we have been considering was being carried on at a time when the city was in the throes of an economic depression, occasioned in part by the uncertain relations of the United States with foreign powers; but chiefly because the War of 1812 had practically paralyzed the commerce of the city of New York. There are those of us who want to suggest here that seasons of public distress may often prove the abundant harvest of religious zeal.

Our congregation again outgrew its quarters and was forced to move to a building on the north side of Rose Street, near Pearl. They finally welded themselves into an effective church body, but continued to worship without parochial organization, and with such facilities as their limited means could secure until 1818, when they formally organized St. Philip's Parish in accordance with the doctrine and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Again we must pause to observe that in the year 1818 there were in the whole state of New York, only about 40 parishes. In the city itself there were but nine parishes and two chapels. St. Philip's formed the tenth parish.

It is to be recognized that throughout their shifting from place to place this zealous band of Christians had as their prime objective the securing of a suitable place in which to worship. Imagine their joy, therefore, when George Lorillard, the tobacconist, came forward and offered to lease them a piece of land on Collect Street, now Centre Street,

for a period of 60 years, at an annual rental of \$250. This property was placed in the hands of trustees "with the intent that a church or place of worship of Almighty God, according to the rites and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, and for the education in piety and useful learning of the children and descendants of the present members . . . and of such other persons as may hereafter be admitted and become members thereof, shall be thereupon built, erected, maintained, and established forever."

These happy people were now in possession of the land. The next step was to build a church. Again they received valuable and timely aid. Trinity Parish gave them a donation. And one Jacob Sherred, by his will, left \$2,500 to aid in the work of the parish. Of this historic event the *Christian Journal* of August, 1818, writes that "the cornerstone was laid on the 6th of August, 1818." It was a wooden structure; and the women of the congregation furnished the pulpit hangings and the communion plate.

This church, situated on Collect Street, was consecrated by Bishop Hobart on July 3, 1819. And in his report to the annual convention in October of the same year, he said: ". . . I consecrated the new church of St. Philip's . . . in which their own mechanics principally were employed, and which they have finished with judgment and haste. I have since officiated in that church to a congregation of colored people who were remarkably orderly and devout in the performance of the service." Thus obscurely was born, officially at least, the parish that has just rounded out 125 years of eventful history.

Peter Williams, whom we met earlier as a lay reader, was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Hobart in St. Philip's Church on October 20, 1820. This was no ordinary event. It was a joyous occasion for the members of the Church, but it also produced a profound impression upon the general public. The *Commercial Advertiser* commenting on this the following day said, "Yesterday morning Mr. Peter Williams, junior, was admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons in St. Philip's Church by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart. The new deacon is a person of color who, being possessed of good natural parts, has much improved his intellectual faculties by intense study and application, and has written several little tracts which abundantly show that with God there is no respect of persons." On July 10, 1826, Peter Williams was advanced to the priesthood and became the first rector of the Church.

The work of the new parish went ahead with great success, but it was not long before the congregation was called upon to face a severe test. For on the evening of December 18, 1821, while they were busily and joyfully making Christmas decorations for their new church, a de-

fective flue started a fire that in a short time reduced the entire building to ashes. This was a severe blow! Fortunately, however, the church was covered by insurance. The congregation redoubled its efforts, and on December 31, 1822, Bishop Hobart consecrated the new church, "similar in size, and in the general plan and appearance of the interior (and) characterized by simplicity, good taste, and economy." That Christian zeal and energy which was later to become so characteristic a part of the people of St. Philip's Church, began to manifest itself. They bought an organ; and on May 7, 1826, Peter Williams presented 115 persons to Bishop Hobart for confirmation.

In 1845 there was probably no more challenging question in America than the problem of individual liberty. The doctrines of the French Revolution had made their impress upon the minds of the people. And the fruits of the American Revolution were still ripe within their group. The people of St. Philip's Church stirred by these new doctrines, applied for admission to the diocesan convention and were promptly refused. The following year, 1846, the parish again made its application. The delegates presented their credentials to the convention, and a committee of three persons was appointed to consider the application. The majority of two which voted against admission took the stand that when, in 1826, the Rev. Peter Williams was ordained, it was understood that the Church should have no representation in the convention, and that the present application was nothing more than a "breach of faith."

Undaunted, the delegates to the convention the following year presented their answer to the breach of faith charge in the form of a written report. But even this failed to gain them admission; and they were forced to engage in a seven years' struggle to secure parochial recognition. In the words of John Jay, ". . . I never represented any parish with greater pride or more sincere pleasure than I felt . . . in answering to the roll call of St. Philip's, and in remembering the long battles that had been fought so many years to secure her representation in Diocesan Councils." Finally, in 1853, St. Philip's Church gained an overwhelming majority of the votes and was admitted to the convention of the diocese of New York.

By 1856 New York began to experience significant changes in the distribution of population, and it was felt that the Church was too far downtown for the convenience of the majority of its members. It was decided, therefore, to sell the church on Centre Street and purchase a larger and better building on Mulberry Street near Bleecker. The congregation held its last service in its old church with many regrets, for during a period of thirty-five years it had become warmly attached to it.

As Bishop Onderdonk so beautifully put it in his sermon, "The Change at the Resurrection," the Rev. Peter Williams retired as usual to his rest on the evening of October 18, 1840, but before the morning he awoke, "not to the light of this world, but to the glorious splendor of paradise." The parish mourned the passing of a pastor, teacher, and friend. After his death, and until 1881, several ministers took charge of the parish for varying periods of time. Two of them, however, the Rev. William Alston, 1860-1862, and the Rev. Joseph Atwell, 1872-1874, served as rectors.

The draft riots that precipitated the well remembered reign of terror in New York City from July to September, 1863, are dark and bloody episodes in the history of New York. The presence of troops in the city called in to suppress the rioting, heightened the tension and gave impetus to the already smoldering ill-will against Negroes. The Negro Orphan Asylum was pillaged and destroyed. Nor was it even safe for Negroes to leave their homes. The church was closed for worship, and the sacred edifice was used as a barracks for the quartering of troops. Those of us who struggle for democratic liberty today can well appreciate how intimately the history of St. Philip's Church is tied up with the struggle for human freedom. When the day of rioting was over it was found that the interior of the church was so badly damaged that it could not be used until it was thoroughly renovated. This was done at a cost of \$2,468.47. After much delay the national government paid \$333.33 as rental, while the city of New York gave \$1,100 for damages done to the property. This left a loss to the parish of more than \$1,000.

III. RECTORSHIP OF THE REV. HUTCHENS C. BISHOP

The work of the Rev. Mr. Atwell was cut short by his sudden death on October 8, 1881, and on January 1, 1886, the Rev. Hutchens Chew Bishop was chosen rector. He came from St. Mark's Church, Charleston, South Carolina, where he had been rector for two years.

It was shortly after he became rector that the same influence that conspired to cause the congregation to move from Mulberry Street again operated to force them to seek another church on Twenty-fifth Street. The people began to move away either to make room for immigrant groups or their property was being absorbed by the rapidly advancing wave of new business enterprises. The opening service was held in the new church on June 21, 1886. This was the fourth church in which this congregation had worshipped, and at least their sixth meeting place since they left Trinity Church in 1818.

Many members of St. Philip's Parish today still recall with tender memories "the old days on Twenty-fifth Street." The Church drew some of the most outstanding persons of the race to its membership. In 1896 a parish house and rectory were built at 127 West 30th Street, five blocks away from the church. It was here that the young men's guild, the St. Christopher club, and the St. Agnes' club, organizations that played a vital part in the growth and development of the parish, were born.

In 1906 the population of New York city again began to show signs of northward migration. This time it was destined to create Harlem, the greatest Negro community in the world. With an almost uncanny business and administration foresight, Dr. Bishop began, in 1908, to purchase property on West 133rd and 134th Streets. And in 1910 he proceeded to build the present church and parish house. A proud but humble congregation held its final services in its Twenty-fifth Street church in October, 1910. And from that time until March 25, 1911, all services of worship were held in the gymnasium of the present parish house.

On the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1911, the present church was dedicated. Tandy and Foster, Negro architects, designed both the church and the parish house. Vertner C. Tandy is still living today, and he designed the changes that were made in the church for the 125th anniversary celebration.

During the past sixty years the history of St. Philip's Parish is properly the story of a church builder, a great administrator of the largest parish for colored people in the country, a renowned leader and adviser of the clergy, an outstanding citizen of his community, pastor, priest, and friend of influential and lowly alike. Hutchens Chew Bishop was born in the city of Baltimore, Maryland, on October 26, 1858. Even in those days there was a well-established chapel for colored people in that city. The Bishop family became active members of the Chapel of St. Mary in the parish of Mt. Calvary. Young Bishop sang in the choir and served as an acolyte. Very early he attracted the attention of the rector, the Rev. Calbraith B. Perry, who became his mentor, life-long friend, and spiritual guide. Under the influence and tutorship of Mr. Perry, he prepared himself to enter the General Theological Seminary of New York in 1878.

The young man's devotion to "high-church" worship was to play a rather eventful part in his life after his graduation from the seminary in 1881. This was the era when the Oxford Movement, led by Newman in England, precipitated such bitter controversies in the Anglican Church, both in England and America. The postulant could

not be ordained in his native city of Baltimore. He was forced to establish residence in Albany, New York, where, under a bishop sympathetic to his convictions, he could be admitted into the sacred ministry of the Church. He was ordained to the diaconate in 1882 by the Rt. Rev. William Croswell Doane. After a year of service in the cathedral at Albany he was advanced to the priesthood on May 24, 1883. He was now free to return to Baltimore as an assistant priest in the Chapel of St. Mary.

When on January 1, 1886, Dr. Bishop accepted the invitation to become the rector of St. Philip's Parish, he undertook a task that was to challenge his ability, wisdom and leadership for fifty years.

Hutchens Chew Bishop was an administrative genius, but he was also priest, shepherd of his flock, and beloved leader of his community. As Harlem grew by leaps and bounds, and its social and economic problems became increasingly numerous and acute, the rector of St. Philip's reached out and grappled with some of the problems of the community. And for many years the parish house became a veritable centre of social activity.

The economic depression, the greatest that this country has ever faced, laid its sordid hands upon St. Philip's. Naturally, Negroes, upon whom economic disasters always fall most heavily, were the hardest hit. Contributions fell off, because the people of the parish had little to give. In fact, like other institutions in the city, the parish was forced to organize a social center to help to alleviate the sufferings not only of its own members, but of the people of the community.

On April 1, 1933, Dr. Bishop retired and became rector emeritus of the parish; and his son, the Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, succeeded him. Four years later, May 17, 1937, members of St. Philip's as well as those countless others who had learned to love Dr. Bishop as shepherd and friend, paused to mourn his passing into a richer, fuller and nobler life.

IV. RECTORSHIP OF THE REV. SHELTON H. BISHOP

The Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop became the fifth rector of St. Philip's Parish in the blackest days of its history. The parish, as we have seen, has been forced to shift from place to place, it has experienced numerous changes, and it has grown far beyond the dreams of its most enthusiastic founders. But perhaps the greatest transformation that it has undergone is that bond of spiritual unity which today unites all of its members into one happy family.

In 1933, at the height of the depression, it became evident to even the most optimistic members of St. Philip's Parish that their beloved church could not long keep its doors open. Every known avenue was explored with the hope of staving off the impending disaster. Finally, both people and vestry agreed that within their knowledge there was but one man that could lead them out of the economic chaos and spiritual despondency into which their parish had fallen. The new rector instituted a program of retrenchment immediately. Prior to this, funds to carry on the work of the parish came almost entirely from property investments. Now there was no income, for real estate values had sunk to their lowest level. No more difficult or unpopular task ever faced any man. The budget of the Church had to be cut almost overnight from more than \$50,000 to \$15,000. The people of the parish had to be taught the meaning of "giving" and "sacrifice." Those were dark and anxious days. Few persons believed that the parish could ever recover. "Better to scrap the whole thing and begin all over again" were the words of many a faithful follower. But through it all one man refused to lose hope. With confidence always in God, he saw such a spiritual rebirth in the lives of his parishioners; and such an upsurging of spirit that no obstacle, no matter how great, could ever block their road to progress.

Shelton Hale Bishop was born on February 26, 1889. He received all of his academic training in New York. He graduated from Columbia College in 1911, and that same year he entered the General Theological Seminary to prepare himself for the ministry. On Trinity Sunday, June 7, 1914, he was ordained deacon in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. He was advanced to the priesthood on July 4, 1915. After serving as curate in St. Thomas' Church, Chicago, 1914-15, as priest-in-charge of St. Augustine's Mission, Pittsburgh, 1915-16, and as rector of the Church of the Holy Cross, Pittsburgh, 1916-23, he became senior curate at St. Philip's in 1923.

In 1926 Mr. Bishop received his master's degree in religious education from Teachers College, Columbia University. He has also done graduate work at both the University of Chicago and the University of Pittsburgh, and he spent the past year in residence and study at the Yale Divinity School.

In a sense the Sunday school of St. Philip's Parish is as old as the parish itself. We may even say that it antedates the parish, for as early as 1697, we find a group of Negroes interested in finding a church where they might send their children to learn the rudiments of religion. And when St. Philip's was formally organized in 1818 we saw with what

care Peter Williams gathered the children around him to instruct them. The journal of the 47th convention of the diocese in 1832 tells us that there were "about 170 Sunday school scholars" in the parish at that time. By 1895 the Sunday school in the Twenty-first Street church was not only well organized, but it began to touch the daily lives of the children through a series of clubs. There were then sixteen classes and more than 200 pupils. When on March 25, 1911, the people of St. Philip's Parish dedicated their new church on West 134th Street, there was an adult membership of 800 persons; and 250 children were enrolled in the Sunday school. Within the next few years the number had grown to nearly 1,000 pupils.

Under the leadership of the Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, in 1923 church school and religious education took the place of the traditional Sunday school. But the term religious education was entirely new in Church parlance. The director of religious education brought with him from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, new concepts and ideas that not only revolutionized the Sunday school, but made it the envy and admiration of church schools throughout the city and its environs. Directors of religious education and their teachers traveled long distances to study the methods of St. Philip's Church school.

The task was not an easy one. Parents and teachers had to be trained. Children had to be graded according to their age and educational background. Curriculum material had to meet the needs of the growing child. And while the best use was being made of material approved by the national board of religious education, St. Philip's Church was experimenting with other materials and with other ideas in an effort to find the ones best suited to meet its needs. Out of this experimentation grew a course of study written by Miss Rae Olley, one of the supervisors of the primary department, a copy of which was placed on exhibition at the national conference of religious workers held in St. Louis, Missouri.

Religious education in the parish today is built upon the structure so carefully laid down twenty years ago. There are at present 700 pupils in the church school. In a world in which there are so many problems of vital importance, and in an age in which so much of human living verges upon moral bankruptcy, St. Philip's Church school attempts to teach its pupils to live useful and wholesome lives. They try to approach these problems through a study of the world in which they live, and the Christian approach to the problems of society.

V. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

There is no more fascinating chapter in the long history of St. Philip's Parish than the one which relates the story of its adventure into the field of social activities. As early as 1875 the parish saw the need of a home for its aged women, and acquired a little frame house at 127 West 30th Street. In 1895 it secured larger quarters at 1119 Boston Road, the Bronx, New York, and with these increased facilities it began to open its doors to women of other denominations. But throughout its history, the institution has always considered itself essentially a project of the parish. However, it is a completely autonomous organization, and depends upon voluntary contributions for its support. There is but one stipulation. The rector of the parish is chairman of the board of managers, and all of the members of the board must be communicants of the Church. Women who enter the home must be at least 65 years of age, and in good health. Usually they are the recipients of old age assistance who are unable to keep house for themselves, but who require the care and attention that the home offers. The St. Philip's Parish Home is now located at 211 West 133th Street, next door to the parish house. It is a modern, three-story brick building, capable of accommodating thirteen residents and a matron.

St. Philip's began quite early, too, to manifest a concern in the social activities of the adolescent boys of the parish and of the community. The parish register for November 1, 1895, tells us that a "St. Christopher Club has been organized for the purpose of attracting boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen, and holding them under the influence of the Church. . . . The meetings are to be made instructive and entertaining, and thus we hope to throw the mantle of protection around our boys and save them from the many enticements to wrong-doing which surround them"

These laudable objectives mark the beginnings of a club that was soon to take on unheard of proportions, and to achieve national fame. By 1900 and continuing through 1930 the St. Christopher club rose to unprecedented heights in the field of athletics. In 1908 it gave birth to the first Negro basketball team in the country. And it had the proud distinction of having the most outstanding basketball team in the United States. Besides basketball, the St. Christopher club has had outstanding track teams. It was the first Negro club to foster amateur boxing, and so proficient was its team that it sent one of its boxers to Europe as a member of the American Olympian boxing team. But the club did not confine its activities to the field of sports. It organized glee clubs and sponsored amateur dramatics. Today an imposing list

of Negro citizens recount with pride their experiences and performances as members of the St. Christopher club. In fact, many of the men who now occupy outstanding positions of leadership in the community had their beginnings in the St. Christopher club.

In 1935 St. Philip's organized its first troop of girl scouts. Within a comparatively short time Troop 155 had created so much interest and enthusiasm that other troops had to be organized in Harlem. In 1928 the parish offered its spacious and well equipped parish house to a troop of boy scouts. Besides these facilities St. Philip's owned Camp Guilford Bower at New Paltz, New York, a three hundred acre farm of rolling country, lying along the Walkill River. Rich in lore, and famous for its natural beauty, this camp was especially suitable for scouting. In 1929 the troop camped here, built Indian villages, gave pageants, conducted classes in arts and crafts, and practiced scouting under the most ideal natural surroundings. By 1930 scouting had grown from a small troop of 90 boys to 4 troops, numbering 300 boys.

Prior to 1925 St. Philip's Parish, like other institutions in the country, and in fact throughout the world, offered to its young people no active part in any of the essential activities of the Church. Young people were considered too immature to have any voice in the affairs of the parish. Very little was said about them, and with the exception of the Sunday school and the St. Christopher club, very little was expected of them. But at least two factors were operating in the parish and in the world at large to bring about a change of emphasis upon the status of youth, the demand on the part of youth itself for recognition, and the whole vortex of puzzling problems that the era precipitated. When, therefore, the present rector, then director of religious education, came to St. Philip's in 1923, he found a rich and fertile field ready to be sown with many of the thoughts and ideas that he had struggled with for a number of years.

The young people's fellowship gave the first tangible evidence of what was passing through the minds of both the director and the young people of the parish. And it was not long before "Fellowship" began to take on special significance. The young people's fellowship tried to interpret religion in terms of genuine love, greater helpfulness, deeper concern for others, and it set about to weld together groups of young people, and sometimes older people, too, of varying personalities, into happy and congenial relationships. And most interesting of all, some of these young people had heretofore taken no part in the activity of the parish. Through inquiry and through a system of intellectual give and take, the fellowship sought to bring into focus the greatness of human personality.

Composed of young men and women of high school and college age, this organization met in the parish house each Sunday afternoon, and under the skillful guidance of competent authorities in various fields, they grappled with some of the searching problems of the day, and tried to find solutions for the questions that baffled them. Here, for the first time, many a young person came face to face with some of the challenging problems of society. They had other interests, too. Interracial parties made for social intercourse and paved the way for better understanding. There were teas, garden parties, "Follies." The group also sponsored Thanksgiving and Christmas programs, and helped in the fight against tuberculosis. Today the young people of the parish try to interpret the economic, social and religious problems that confront our society. They have regular corporate communions. They hold open house. They conduct forums, where they look at the present crisis, discuss race relations, examine the nature of Christian family life, and explore the problems of a just and lasting peace.

We have been attempting to sketch rather haphazardly a few of the many areas that St. Philip's developed in the field of social activities. By 1906 the parish had become interested in adequate living conditions not only for its members, but for the Negro people of Harlem, and it acquired property for that purpose from time to time. For many years it supplied Christmas and Thanksgiving baskets to the needy members of the parish. Because of the number of young people who were attached to the church school, together with a growing adolescent population in the community, St. Philip's set about to organize a series of wholesome recreational activities. As a matter of fact, it is quite obvious that the parish house was built with the idea that social activity is an essential part of parish life.

In 1924 the rector and the vestry created a department of social work in the parish. But because no distinct patterns of church social work had as yet evolved, St. Philip's was forced to join the ranks of those churches that were doing pioneer social work and secured the services of a trained social worker. The program that was put into operation emphasized clubs for younger children, recreational activities for boys and girls, as well as for young people in high school, college, and even beyond the college years. There were planning committees, individual counselling in school problems for elementary and high school pupils, as well as for college students. This was very much like the

educational guidance that is being done in the schools at the present time. However, to this program was added personal counselling aimed at helping young people to work out adjustments to family life, adjustments to marriage, and the development of leadership potentialities. By this time it had become the definite philosophy of St. Philip's that the young people of the Church were its potential leaders, and that it was the duty of the parish not only to plan opportunities for Church leadership, but to see to it that these young people were helped to find their place in the community. Today, as we encounter these young people in the various social agencies of the city and the community we appreciate the wisdom of this far-sighted philosophy. The year 1928 found parents of the parish deeply engrossed in the problems of childhood and adolescence. Child study groups were formed and the women raised money to buy books for their own library. After more than sixteen years one of these groups is still active in the parish.

The economic depression offered a special challenge to social work in St. Philip's Parish. Relief problems were complicated by delinquency, marital maladjustments, broken homes, health problems, and a score of other problems that demanded the utmost skill, insight, and tact. One of the lessons that the depression taught leaders of social work was the transference of relief cases to agencies more fully equipped and qualified to handle them. Coupled with other problems, this factor has operated to change the nature of social work in St. Philip's since 1933. In the spring of 1940 a branch of social service work was started under the auspices of the parish service guild, to provide clothing and miscellaneous articles of furniture to needy persons. This organization has distributed to date over 800 pieces of men's clothing, 2,600 articles of women's apparel, 800 pieces of children's clothing, together with numerous pieces of furniture, lamps, sheets, blankets, etc.

In May, 1943, the government of the United States brought into this country several groups of agricultural workers from the British West Indies, principally from Jamaica and Barbadoes. These men, ranging in age from 18 to 30, lived in government-built camps, one of which was located at Bridgeton, New Jersey. On May 20 an urgent call came from the Church Missions House, asking St. Philip's Parish to suggest a priest who would minister to these men, ninety-five per cent of whom were members of the Church of England. Without much delay and with one accord, the clergy of the parish saw in this offer a blessed opportunity not only to extend the work of the parish, but to

engage in a unique program of social work, and to extend immeasurably, perhaps, the boundaries of Christ's Kingdom among men. In the name of the parish, therefore, the clergy volunteered to take turns in giving these men pastoral care from June 1 to September 15.

The work of one of the clergy, the Rev. Randolph O. C. King, himself born in the West Indies, was so effective, both in the spiritual aspects and in its social contacts, that he was urged to return this year. During the summer Mr. King ministered to 1,000 Jamaicans, traveling daily from camp to camp, covering a distance of more than 60 miles. He attended the sick, buried the dead, administered the Blessed Sacrament in cabins and hospitals, formed camp councils, helped to settle labor disputes, served as captain of their cricket team, worked in the fields alongside the men, and in numerous other ways, "kept the morale of the men alive." This glorious opportunity of living in camps with the men, working with them in the fields, sharing their problems and counselling them, mobilizing community agencies to help men who were strangers to our country and our ways, could never adequately be told in words.

In the back of his car Father King carried the "Church," a plain cross, two candlesticks, two empty milk bottles to be used as vases, and a white sheet to act as altar cloth. He would gather flowers on the way as he drove from camp to camp. Sometimes two empty milk boxes, or two wooden tables placed end to end served as an altar. Here eager men at the Bread of Life and were refreshed. And here, we believe, they felt the loving hands of the Church as they could never have felt it in the security of their well-lighted church with its cushioned seats, freshly-robed choir, and beautiful organ music.

A most awful thing happened in the public school almost next door to the parish house in May, 1944. A little nine-year-old girl was stabbed by one of her classmates. We wish that we could set down *verbatim* the rector's account of what happened in St. Philip's Parish after this tragic incident. First of all, as he puts it, "my daughter was ready for me." She said: "You've got that parish house and that large auditorium . . . and they are going to stay vacant all summer. . . . You are going to have a wonderful vacation. And the children are going to be on the streets." Such a challenge would set any man thinking.

Securing workers and money was no easy task. It was estimated that the project would cost \$2,500 for ten weeks. Twenty-five professional recreational workers, one of them a Ph. D., were soon found. Some money, too, was forthcoming. When twenty-one youngsters between the ages of 8 and 12 were called in and asked what sort of program

they wanted, it was discovered that they had clear-cut and specific ideas of just what they wanted and how it should be worked out. Thus was born, in St. Philip's parish house, on the evening of July 5, 1944, "The Fun Center," a project to harness the activities of children in the square block in which the church and parish house are situated, and to provide them with a wholesome place in which to play from 6:30 to 10:30 each evening, under expert and sympathetic supervision.

The children ranged in ages from 8 to 17 years. They were divided into three age-groups, and were given membership cards for the asking. Activities included basketball, volley ball, badminton, boxing, relay races. There were quiet games such as checkers, lotto, dominoes, chinese checkers. There were handicrafts of all kinds, clay modelling, painting, drawing. There was dancing, sewing groups, and classes in fancy cake and cookie making. The teen-age canteen on Friday nights from nine to eleven was most interesting. It took in young people between the ages of 14 and 17, who are the very center of the juvenile delinquency problem.

Night after night the streets were clear of children. On the first night there were 136 of them. The average nightly attendance was 185. It is impossible to tell the whole story. One little youngster, only nine year old, brought his lunch, and asked to be allowed to dust the church. He spent the day at it. One child suggested that there ought to be prayers in the church sometimes. And so for three or four nights a week the rector, who was on hand every evening of the week from 6:30 to 10:30, assembled a group of from 12 to 35 boys and girls, and together they knelt down at the altar, read short passages of Scripture, and offered short prayers. Sometimes there was organ music and they sang hymns.

VI. 125TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

On May 1, 1943, the Feast of St. Philip the Apostle, patron saint of the church, the parish celebrated its 125 years of faithful history. There was much jubilation. The celebration lasted for more than a week. Never in the history of any church in Harlem was there ever seen such a brilliant spectacle. Never had so many dignitaries of the Church, and such distinguished laymen assembled at one time in one church. The bishop of the diocese consecrated the church, and the presiding bishop preached the sermon. A choir of fifty voices sang the *Missa Brevis* of Palestrina, reinforced by string quartet, trumpets, tympani, and cymbals.

Even our sketchy history must reveal that these have been brilliant and productive years, for which the people of St. Philip's Parish must justly be proud. But they would neither be true to themselves nor would they keep faith with that noble band of men and women who struggled to found the parish, if they are content to rest on their laurels. Many are the problems that lie ahead of them. In fact, it is not too much to say that the way may even be dark and sometimes even be bitter. We hear much these days about "winning the peace of the world," but little about winning the social, economic, and religious peace of America. Much about freedom and democracy for the nations of the world, but little about social and economic justice for the Negroes of America. Throughout its history St. Philip's has always shown a just concern for these problems. Soon it must do more than discuss them. For like the rector's daughter, many of our young men fresh from the battlefields of the world, where they fought for freedom and democracy, will demand equality of opportunity. They will demand that St. Philip's open wide its doors, take an active part in the struggle, and fight against racial bigotry, social injustice, and economic insecurity.

THE CHURCH IN ARKANSAS AND ITS BISHOPS 1835-1946

By E. Clowes Chorley

During the year of our Lord, 1946, the Diocese of Arkansas fittingly celebrated the 75th year of its organization. It has had a checkered history which can only be outlined in this article. The main sources are found in *The Spirit of Missions*, the manuscript *Journals of Bishop Lay and Bishop Pierce*, *The Journals of the General Convention*, the *Annals of Christ Church*, Little Rock, the addresses of the present bishop, Richard Bland Mitchell, and Mr. W. Henry Roberts, historiographer of the diocese, and the *Arkansas Churchman*, together with some important articles in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. These sources are supplemented by some editorial notes.

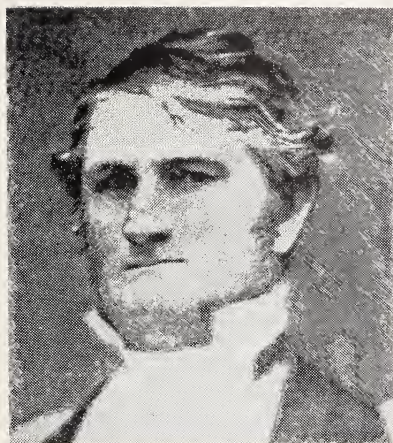
In 1835 the Church created two vast missionary districts—the Southwest and the Northwest, and elected our first missionary bishops to care for them. At the General Convention of that year the House of Bishops nominated the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., rector of St. Thomas' Church, in the city of New York, to exercise episcopal functions in the State of Louisiana, and in the Territories of Arkansas and Florida, the nomination being confirmed by the House of Deputies. Dr. Hawks, who was present at the convention, expressed "his willingness to accept of the appointment, provided provisions were made to his satisfaction for the support of his family." Later, to his great regret, he was compelled to decline his election.¹

Arkansas was admitted as a slave state in 1836. It was noted that prior to 1838 "it had never enjoyed the services of a single clergyman of our Church," but the *Spirit of Missions* of that year stated that

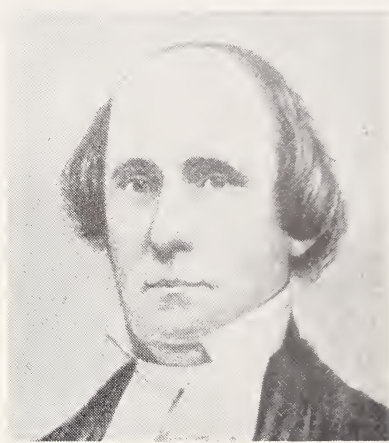
"At Little Rock a very strong desire on the part of many of its leading citizens has been expressed to have at once an able and efficient minister of the Church stationed there and at several other places a desire has been expressed for ministers of this Church."

¹W. H. Stowe. *Why Dr. Francis Lister Hawks Declined His Election as First Missionary Bishop of the Southwest*. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, March, 1940, pp. 90-92.

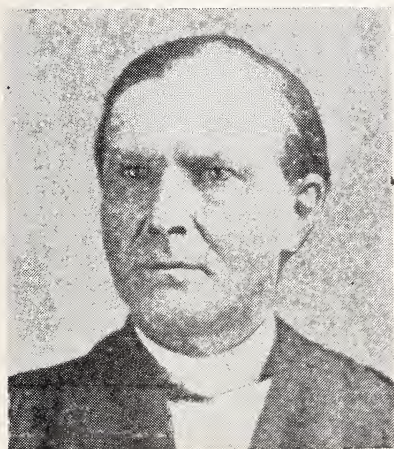
ARKANSAS BISHOPS



LEONIDAS POLK
(1838-1841)



GEORGE WASHINGTON FREEMAN
(1844-1858)



HENRY CHAMPLIN LAY
(1859-1869)



HENRY NILES PIERCE
(1870-1899)

Whereupon, the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions planned, if possible, "to maintain five able missionaries in Arkansas for the three succeeding years."²

LEONIDAS POLK³
1838-1841

At the General Convention of 1838 Leonidas Polk was elected Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory, with provisional charge of Alabama, Mississippi and the republic of Texas, and was consecrated on December 9, 1838. A former cadet of the West Point Military Academy, where he was converted, he was born April 10, 1806, at Raleigh, North Carolina, and was ordered deacon April 11, 1830, by Bishop R. C. Moore, of Virginia, and priested by the same bishop on May 22, 1833.

FIRST VISITATION

On February 14, 1839, he started on his first visitation of his vast district, going by way of Alabama and Mississippi. His experiences are outlined in his report to the General Convention of 1841.⁴

In March he arrived at Helena, and reported that

"The town itself contains about four or five hundred inhabitants, very destitute of religious privileges; periodical visits of a Methodist Circuit Elder at long intervals, and the occasional services of a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher, comprising all their opportunities of religious instruction."

He notes that "he preached twice to a small congregation at the house of a private individual," but that no missionary had as yet been found to fill this station.

Proceeding by way of the Arkansas River, he arrived at Little Rock after touching at the Port of Arkansas, largely a French settlement, and Pine Bluff, at both places, finding a few Church families. At Little Rock, which had a population of 2,500, he preached "more or less every day." He said:

²*Spirit of Missions*, 1838, Vol. III, pp. 345-346.

³Cf. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, *Polk Centennial Number*, December 1, 1938, pp. 324ff.

Also, W. H. Stowe, *Polk's Missionary Episcopate*, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, December, 1938, pp. 341ff.

⁴*Journal of General Convention*, 1841, pp. 157ff.

"There are, as I learned, between 20 and 25 Families avowedly attached to the Church, besides others who being well disposed toward our forms of worship, would gladly avail themselves of the services. Among these families are to be found a strong Church attachment and as devout piety as I have met with at any time." They earnestly desired to have a missionary and stood ready to pledge \$1,000 for his stipend.

From Little Rock he proceeded by stage to the southwestern parts of the State, where the settlers were chiefly from the Carolinas and Virginia. He preached in Washington, "where none present were acquainted with the Prayer Book," and at Spring Hill, where he had "respectable congregations."

It is recorded that during his five days' stay at Little Rock

"the bishop held a service in the Presbyterian Church on Main Street, near the corner of Cherry (now Second), and as there was no vesting room, the bishop robed at the residence of his host, Mr. Causins, on the corner of Main and Mulberry (Third Street), and walked along the square in his official vestments to the church. This occasioned open-mouthed speculation on the part of the uninitiated villagers, and may have helped to collect the bishop's first audience.⁵

It is also noted that "He afterwards gathered together the little band of Episcopalians and organized a parish with the following gentlemen as wardens and vestrymen: John H. Crease, Senior Warden; Luke E. Barber, Junior Warden; Lambert Reardon, Charles Rapley, John Hutt, J. P. Norman, John Adamson, Lambert J. Reardon, F. W. Trapnall, D. Butler, John Wassell, William Prather.

"The bishop selected the site for the Church building on the southeast corner of Orange (Fifth) and Scott Streets, and donated \$900 for the purchase of the lots from Thomas W. Newton and wife." The deed was made out to John Wassell and Abner S. Washburn, wardens of Christ Church. For a consideration of \$900 each, lots 2, 3 and 4, block 29, were conveyed.

The bishop then visited the missionary station at Pine Bluff. He preached at Fayetteville and confirmed eight persons.

It is important to recall the fact that on this journey Polk visited the Indian Territory, which was included in his jurisdiction. It was the first episcopal visitation of that area. He officiated at Fort Gibson, Fort Towson, and Dockville, the principal village of the Choctaw nation. He records a conversation with certain Cherokee chiefs and

⁵*Annals of Christ Church Parish*, p. 14.

preached in one of their houses; he also visited Mr. John Ross, the principal chief.⁶ So far as records are available these appear to have been the first services of the Episcopal Church in Arkansas.

In his first visitation Bishop Polk paved the way to the permanent establishment of the Church in Arkansas. The Board of Missions recognized the following missionary stations in Arkansas: Pine Bluff, Fayetteville, Batesville, Washington, Port of Arkansas, and Fort Gibson, in the Indian Territory.

In 1839 the Rev. William Mitchell⁷ was transferred from Indiana and appointed to Pine Bluff, where he describes himself as "alone in the State." He has the distinction of being the first settled missionary of the Episcopal Church in Arkansas. He was received with great kindness by the people, and reported that a lot of ground was given for a church. In addition to his work at Pine Bluff he explored the country for forty miles round ministering to a number of scattered families of the Church. Later, he reported 5 communicants and added:

"At the first administration of the Communion there were 5 to receive it; two of whom, formerly from Maryland, wept for joy that they were once more permitted to receive the memorials of Christ's death and passion, after being separated for years from the Church which they love."

On February 14, 1841, St. John's parish was organized and a vestry elected.

The next station to be filled was Little Rock with the appointment of the Rev. William H. C. Yeager,⁸ who arrived on July 8, 1840, and maintained himself by opening a school. He found the Methodists the most numerous, with a neat brick church; next, the Presbyterians, with an old frame church with a steeple and a bell. The Roman Catholics were building a church, and the Baptists worshipped in a frame building. There were some Lutherans and a few Jews.

Under date of September 21, 1840, Mr. Yeager reports to the Board of Missions:

The prospects of the Church are very good. Some of the most respectable families of the place, say 15 at the lowest calculation, are decidedly strongly favorable to the worship of

⁶*Journal General Convention*, 1841, pp. 168-170.

⁷Ordered Deacon by Bishop C. P. McIlvaine, of Ohio, on September 27, 1836. Minister St. Stephen's Church, East Liverpool, Ohio.

⁸Bishop Polk ordered Mr. Yeager, "of the Diocese of Tennessee," as Deacon on December 21, 1839; and later adds: "I admitted the Rev. Mr. Yeager, of the Diocese of Alabama, to the order of the Priesthood."

the Church. Our services are well attended; the responses are full and animating, and a spirit of reverence for religion and a strong disposition to vital religion are beginning to be manifested.

He adds, however, "At present there are no communicants of whom I have any knowledge." Services were held in "an elegant and large room in the statehouse."⁹

A little later Mr. Yeager reports preaching to the Germans in their native tongue and will officiate for them every four weeks. In 1841 there were attached to the Church in Little Rock 30 families and 13 communicants.

On January 1, 1841, he reported that:

"The Vestry are about to purchase three lots which will cost \$800 each. The owners of the lots will present one lot. Our Bishop has presented us with another, and the third to be paid for by the congregation. Subscription papers for the erection of a church are in circulation, \$2,000 are already subscribed, and every prospect of success is before us. For these blessings God be praised."¹⁰

The third early missionary station in Arkansas was at Fayetteville, on the borders of the Indian Territory, to which the Rev. William Scull,¹¹ from Fort Gibson, was transferred in February, 1841. On his arrival he reported that he could not find one single Protestant Episcopalian. But shortly afterwards Bishop Polk visited the station and confirmed 8, describing it as "one of the most promising fields of labor in the State."

SECOND VISITATION

On December 6, 1840, Bishop Polk set out on his second visitation to Arkansas and the Indian Territory, arriving at Little Rock on the 15th, and remaining for ten days, "preaching as occasion offered and administering the Sacraments of the Church." He found at Little Rock "a very interesting congregation, bidding fair to be strong, had been organized by the Rev. William H. C. Yeager, and that steps were being taken for the erection of a suitable church edifice." Three days were spent at Pine Bluff, where the Rev. William Mitchell had

⁹*Spirit of Missions*, 1840, pp. 344-45.

¹⁰*Spirit of Missions*, 1841, pp. 105-106.

¹¹Ordered Deacon by Bishop Richard Channing Moore, of Virginia, November 18, 1836. Before coming to Arkansas he was minister at St. James' and Høvmærket Parishes, Virginia.

assembled a small congregation. The bishop notes that owing to the unhealthiness of the station, Mr. Mitchell was to be transferred to Hempstead county. Preaching at Van Buren and Fort Smith, he proceeded to the Choctaw nation at Dockville, the principal village in the nation. He found "a decided wish for the regular ministrations of the Church."

BISHOP JAMES H. OTEY

1841-1844

Provisional Bishop

At the General Convention of 1841, the selection of a bishop for Louisiana having been remitted to the House of Bishops, they elected Bishop Polk for that diocese, and the nomination was confirmed by the House of Deputies. He left in Arkansas three missionaries at work: Rev. William H. C. Yeager at Little Rock, Rev. William Scull at Fayetteville, Rev. William Mitchell at Spring Hill, Hempstead County. Whereupon the Presiding Bishop appointed Bishop Otey, of Tennessee, in charge of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. This arrangement continued until 1844.

Otey started on his first visitation of Arkansas early in 1842, arrived at Little Rock on February 28, and records the fact that he was engaged every day in preaching "and enquiring into the condition of this and other stations in Arkansas." The result of that enquiry was a realization of the dire need of missionaries in the State. He made a strong appeal to the Board of Missions for additional missionaries, and in so doing made the following rather unusual suggestion:

"And here permit to state, what you may suggest to clergymen who want situations. By raising his 'Ebenezer' at such a place as Van Buren, a clergyman who can save a little from his hard earnings, or has a little of his own laid by, may make such an investment of it in lands which are good and cheap, as will probably provide him with comforts 'against a rainy day. I wish you would throw out this idea or suggestion to some of our young brethren, who are not afraid to venture into the wilderness for the sake of Christ and the Church.'" ¹²

At Little Rock he found the people, who were worshipping in the Presbyterian Church when it was not otherwise used, were feeling very greatly the want of a church edifice of their own. Much had been

¹²*Spirit of Missions*, 1842, p. 102.

done, but more remained. The pressure of the times had seriously affected the payment of promises. He adds:

"The strain, however, is very severe on Mr. Yeager; for while efforts are made to finish the church, next to nothing is done for his support. So soon as the church is completed I doubt not that the station will support itself."¹³

Bishop Otey was literally in "journeyings oft." With a view to discovering the conditions of the Indians he traveled to Fort Towson in the Indian Territory and across the Choctaw nation to Fort Smith, and pays warm tribute to the officers of the United States Army for provision for his comfort and safety.

General Taylor sent him on horseback to Van Buren, where the Rev. Daniel McManus was missionary. There he preached "to a very respectable congregation," and states: "To-day laid the corner-stone of Trinity Church."

Returning to Little Rock, after prayers by the Rev. James Young, the missionary in charge, the bishop preached and confirmed 13. He reported that:

"The prospects of the Church at this place continue to brighten under the judicious and faithful ministrations of the worthy Missionary. The debt of the church is nearly, if not wholly paid, and the need of more accommodation for those who attend our services, begins to be felt."¹⁴

Visiting Pine Bluff he found that every family professing attachment to the Church had moved away, and a little later he notes that

"The Rev. William Mitchell, at Pine Bluff, having remained at his post, till his own health was nearly ruined, and until every communicant of his congregation had died or removed, recently took letters of dismission to Bishop Chase."¹⁵

On Sunday, November 27, 1842, Christ Church, Little Rock, was consecrated by Bishop Otey. Morning Prayer was read by the Rev. William Scull, and the lessons by Mr. Yeager. In his *Journal* the bishop describes the church as "a brick edifice, with organ gallery, floors laid, pulpit and the walls to be plastered, and the house painted; will accommodate, when finished, 300 or 400 people."¹⁶ Eight years later a wooden tower was built on the western front, a vestry room

¹³*Spirit of Missions*, 1842, p. 103.

¹⁴*Journal General Convention*, 1844, p. 224.

¹⁵*Spirit of Missions*, 1843, p. 304.

¹⁶*Annals of Christ Church*, pp. 73-74.

being provided on the first floor. There the minister robed and entered the church from the outside. An organ and a bell were added later.

Visiting Fayetteville in 1843 the bishop found "the Church struggling hard to live," and at Batesville "many very friendly to the Church," He describes Washington as "a poor looking town of 300 or 400 people."

On April 1, 1843, Mr. Yeager, by reason of ill health, resigned as the missionary at Little Rock, and became rector of St. John's Church, Tallahassee, Florida; later he is listed as minister in Washington, Mississippi. In the General Convention *Journal* of 1850 he is recorded as "residing in California."

He was succeeded at Little Rock by the Rev. James Young, who came from Florence, Alabama. His stipend was \$400. He reports the times as hard by reason of floods which destroyed the cotton and corn crops, and "the country steeped in poverty," which increased the cost of living nearly fifty per cent.

The Rev. Daniel McManus became missionary at Van Buren on July 13, 1843, with charge also of Fort Smith. He organized a Sunday school and a vestry. Two lots for a church were given by Colonel Dennen. The missionary reported also the promise of a bell; a Church Bible and Prayer Book; as much paint as the church will require and a handsome subscription from two officers of the garrison together with the ladies "directing their energies to the building of a church—all giving promise that Trinity Church, Van Buren, will, ere long, be ready for consecration." There were 13 families and 170 individuals.

In 1844 Bishop Otey resigned his oversight of Arkansas and the Indian Territory, retaining his jurisdiction in Tennessee. At that time there were two mission stations and two missionaries in Arkansas—Little Rock and Van Buren.

GEORGE WASHINGTON FREEMAN 1844-1858

The General Convention of 1844 elected the Rev. George Washington Freeman, rector of Emmanuel Church, New Castle, Delaware, "to exercise episcopal functions in the State of Arkansas and in the Indian Territory south of the $36\frac{1}{2}$ parallel of latitude, and to exercise supervision over the Missions of this Church in the Republic of Texas."

A descendant of Edmond Freeman, who settled at Sandwich, Massachusetts, in 1635, he was born at Sandwich on June 13, 1789.

His parents were rigid Congregationalists. He was ordered deacon at the age of 38 on October 8, 1826, by Bishop Ravenscroft and priested on May 20, 1827, by the same bishop. From 1829 to 1840 he was rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, North Carolina, and after serving for a short time in Tennessee and New Jersey, he became rector of Emmanuel Church, New Castle, Delaware. He was consecrated October 26, 1844.

FIRST VISITATION

The bishop included in his first visitation Little Rock, Van Buren, Fort Smith, Fayetteville, Cane Hill, and the Head Waters of White River. At Little Rock he confirmed 9 persons. Appealing to the Bishop of Massachusetts for help at this station, he wrote:

"The Church at Little Rock, through the failure of some means counted upon at the time of building, is embarrassed by a debt, which, though small, is quite beyond the ability of the congregation to meet. The debt is only \$800; and yet, if not speedily liquidated, it must cause the church to pass into other hands."¹⁷

It appears that this debt of \$800 was for one of the three lots for which the congregation had made itself responsible. Failing to collect some of the promised subscriptions the congregation for some time paid interest on that amount, but eventually found itself unable to pay the interest and at the same time contribute to the support of the missionary and was in grave danger of losing the land.

From Little Rock he journeyed on horseback to Van Buren, where he found no communicants, no candidates for confirmation, "and I may add, no congregation *proper*." At Fort Smith he found the same conditions prevailing. The missionary, the Rev. Mr. McManus, being elected as chaplain to Fort Gibson, Van Buren became vacant. At Fayetteville he preached in a schoolroom, and of that station he reports:

"The Rev. Mr. Scull, the former Missionary in this part of Arkansas, who for the last two years, has been laboring as he could in this field, without compensation from any source, supporting himself and his family by the labor of his own hands, will probably soon accept the appointment of Chaplain to one of the United States military posts; and thus this portion of the vineyard will be left entirely destitute."¹⁸

¹⁷*Spirit of Missions*, 1845, p. 327.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

At Cane Hill the bishop preached in a small storeroom and confirmed three persons. He likewise licensed Captain Chew as a lay reader to conduct services pending the arrival of a missionary.

On June 15, 1846, Mr. Young resigned as missionary at Little Rock, having, as he said, "exhausted what little property he had." The Rev. C. C. Townsend reorganized the defunct parish at Van Buren with 32 names; also at Fort Smith with a smaller number. At Fayetteville, which he visited, he found 7 Episcopal families and 9 communicants.

Under date of October 9, 1847, Bishop Freeman made the first triennial report to the General Convention. It is summarized as follows:

"In Arkansas the progress of the Church has not, as yet, been very encouraging, mainly owing, perhaps, to the want of a supply of efficient Missionaries," and he goes on to say:

"The only distinct and settled congregation in the State, and the only Church edifice, are at Little Rock . . . it embraces a due proportion of the more refined and better part of the society in the place, and many very excellent persons. The number of communicants is about 25. . . . At Van Buren and Fort Smith there are a few Communicants, perhaps 10 or 12, and nominally organized congregations; but the Church had not, when the station was last visited by the Bishop, attained distinctive character and strength enough to secure a separate place of worship, subject to its own control, of the humblest kind. At Cane Hill and Fayetteville there are also a few Communicants . . . at Batesville there are 4 or 5 Communicants; 3 or 4 at Helena and Columbia; also a few in the southern parts of the State.¹⁹

He lists the clergy as Rev. Daniel McManus at Van Buren, Rev. William Scull at Fayetteville, and Rev. James Young at Little Rock.

Three years later (1850) he reported that there had been no increase in the number of missionaries during the last five years. The unoccupied stations were El Dorado and Camden with 15 to 20 communicants; Batesville with 5 or 6, and Helena with at least 6. The number of communicants in the missionary stations was about 100; the whole number in the State "not far from 150." In the Indian Territory there was one military chaplain, "but no Mission, nor is there any immediate prospect of our being able to establish one." In 1853 he reported in Arkansas "but *two* clergymen, one the Rector of a self-sup-

¹⁹*Journal General Convention*, 1847, pp. 210-211.

porting parish, the other a devoted and painstaking Missionary. Two Missionary stations are vacant." The most hopeful feature was the fact that there were two candidates for Holy Orders.

Bishop Freeman's last triennial report was made in 1856. There were then three clergymen. The only occupied missionary stations were Helena, Camden and El Dorado, Fayetteville was vacant; Van Buren and Fort Smith were, and had been for several years, vacant, the congregations only enjoying the services of the Church at the annual visitations of the bishop. Mention is made of a plan to establish a school under the control of the Church. Land and buildings had been purchased, though \$2,000 was still needed.

Having resigned his oversight of the Church in Texas, Bishop Freeman took up his residence in Little Rock, where he died on April 29, 1858. He was an ideal missionary bishop, a true shepherd of his scattered flock in Arkansas.

On the death of Bishop Freeman the Presiding Bishop again placed Arkansas and the Indian Territory in May, 1858, under the care of Bishop Otey.

He reports 5 clergymen regularly settled over parishes—the Rev. Otis Hackett at Old River Lake Village; the Rev. William Binet in charge at Van Buren, where funds were being collected for a church. The Rev. John Sandels had been transferred from Tennessee to Fayetteville; the Rev. William Eppes from Florida had taken charge of the church at Camden following the late Rev. Mr. McHugh, and the Rev. John T. Wheat, D. D., from North Carolina, had been elected rector of Christ Church, Little Rock, where "his labors have been very acceptable to the congregation." The Rev. Messrs. John Burke and Daniel McManus were chaplains in the United States Army. The bishop also reports:

"The Rev. William Stout has been transferred from the Diocese of Mississippi to Arkansas, and has settled at Little Rock. He has no parochial charge, but performs Missionary labors wherever opportunity presents itself. He has been a liberal contributor to the Missionary Funds expended in Arkansas, and given much personal labor to the work of preaching the Gospel at different places, and 'strengthen things that remain.'"²⁰

The Rev. David Margot was ordained deacon by Bishop Otey and transferred to the Diocese of New York. Mr. Langstroth, resident of Little Rock, was admitted as a candidate for Holy Orders.

²⁰*Journal General Convention*, 1859, p. 359.



ORIGINAL CHRIST CHURCH, LITTLE ROCK, WHERE THE DIOCESE WAS FORMED

[For description, see pages 324 - 325]

HENRY CHAMPLIN LAY
1859-1869

At the General Convention of 1859 Henry Champlin Lay, rector of the Church of the Nativity, Huntsville, Alabama, was elected Missionary Bishop of Arkansas to succeed Bishop Freeman, and was consecrated on October 23 of that year.

Born at Richmond, Virginia, December 6, 1813, he graduated from the University of Virginia in 1842, and from the Virginia Theological Seminary four years later. He was ordered deacon July 10, 1846, by Bishop William Meade, of Virginia, and on July 12, 1848, was advanced to the priesthood by Bishop Cobbs, of Alabama.

He established his headquarters in Arkansas at Fort Smith. His jurisdiction embraced the vast Southwest. The only means of travel were on horseback, by stage and river boats, and it would have taken three years for one man to cover it adequately.

Within two years of his consecration the War Between the States broke out and Arkansas seceded from the Union in 1861, and the churches to the South organized the "General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America." Whereupon, Lay presented his resignation as missionary bishop to the Presiding Bishop in the North and notified the senior bishop in the South that he would be willing to continue his work in Arkansas.

THE PRIMARY CONVENTION OF THE DIOCESE OF ARKANSAS²¹

The Primary Convention of the Diocese of Arkansas,²¹ convened at Christ Church, Little Rock, on November 1, 1862. Of the six clergy in the district there were present the Rev. Messrs. J. M. Curtis, of Camden; W. C. Stout, of Hawkstone; R. W. Trimble, of Pine Bluff, and J. T. Wheat, of Little Rock, together with the following lay delegates entitled to seats: from Little Rock, Messrs. J. H. Crease (absent); D. Ringo and L. E. Barber from Fort Smith; R. M. Johnson from Hawkstone; from Pine Bluff, W. A. Cantrell and R. Clements, and from Camden, Weldon E. Wright.

On November 3 the clerical and lay delegates proceeded "to organize the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Arkansas into a Diocese and adopted a Constitution for the same." It also applied for admission into the General Council of the Church in the Confederate States. The Rev. Messrs. J. T. Wheat, W. C. Stout and J. M.

²¹The proceedings of this convention, also that of 1863, as set forth in the Journal of Bishop Lay, are reprinted in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for March, 1939, pp. 68ff and 70ff.

Curtis were elected clerical delegates, and Messrs. Doctor John Seay, L. B. Shepard and D. Ringo lay delegates.

After silent prayer the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay was unanimously elected Bishop of Arkansas.

The General Council met in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia, on November 12, 1862, Bishop Lay preaching the opening sermon.

The House of Bishops concurred with the House of Deputies in "admitting the Diocese of Arkansas to union with and representation in the General Council of this Church," likewise "ratified and confirmed the election of the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay, D. D., to be Bishop of the Diocese of Arkansas."²² So, for the time being, Arkansas ceased to be a missionary district.

At this Council Bishop Lay made his report on the state of the Church since the three years following his consecration. An effort had been made to establish a mission in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and a projected visit to Arizona and New Mexico by the bishop was hindered by the outbreak of the War. He added:

"I have, on several occasions, traveled through the Cherokee and Choctaw nations, preaching as opportunity offered, and seeking to acquaint myself with the peculiarities of that field. I was kindly received everywhere among these people, and some desire was expressed to have the Church established among them. The unsettled condition of the country has rendered any specific effort impossible."²³

He estimated the number of communicants in Arkansas at 400; there had been 1 ordination, 151 confirmations and he listed the clergy as follows:

Rev. J. M. Curtis, St. John's Church, Camden.

Rev. Otis Hackett, Emmanuel Church, Lake Village.

Rev. David Kerr, residing near El Dorado.

Rev. Daniel McManus, residing near Fayetteville.

Rev. John Sandels, St. John's Church, Fort Smith.

Rev. W. C. Stout, Church, Hawkstone.

Rev. R. W. Trimble, St. John's Church, Pine Bluff.

Rev. J. T. Wheat, Christ Church, Little Rock.

Rev. R. H. Murphy (Deacon), Washington, together with two clergy listed as "non-resident in the diocese":

Rev. B. R. S. Boemond.

Rev. W. H. Smythe (Deacon).

²²*Journal General Council*, 1862, p. 161.

²³*Ibid.*, Appendix C, pp. 191-192.

Bishop Lay's estimate of the attitude of the General Council is worthy of note. He said:

"Our final severance from the Ecclesiastical Legislature of the Church in the United States was effected without one word of bitterness on our part, and in the fear of God we open a new volume in our history."²⁴

THE SECOND DIOCESAN CONVENTION

was held May 13, 1863. In addition to the bishop there were present the Rev. Messrs. J. M. Curtis, W. C. Stout and R. W. Trimble, together with lay delegates from Christ Church, Little Rock; St. John's, Camden; Grace, Washington; Hawkstone; Trinity, Pine Bluff; and St. Michael's, Arkadelphia. The parishes of Spring Hill, St. Paul's, Fayetteville, and St. John's, Phillip's County, were dropped from the roll. 102 Confirmations and 359 Communicants were reported.

The outstanding feature was the address of the bishop, in the course of which he recited his visitations during which he had no settled home. Arkansas was invaded by the Federal troops and he had removed his family from danger. There is one pathetic entry in his Journal:

"Feb. 18. I committed to the grave the body of my son, Thomas Atkinson. It was a dark and lonely day, a time of public apprehension when I could not call upon my friends to aid me. I buried him with no other help than that of my domestics, and myself read the office for the burial of the dead."²⁵

He made as many visitations in Arkansas as possible, often preaching in private houses. Traveling sometimes on horseback and sometimes on foot, he made a partial visitation of Louisiana and Georgia and assisted at the funeral of Bishop Polk.

There is one very interesting record of his war experiences:

"He then consented, at the invitation of the Bishop of Georgia, to assume the oversight of the Chaplaincies of the Army of the Tennessee, and joined the army about the time it fell back on Atlanta. He held no commission, but was recognized by common consent as 'Missionary Bishop to the army of the Tennessee.'

"The Rev. Dr. C. T. Quintard, that most zealous and efficient of Army Chaplains, associated himself with the Bishop, occupying together a tent at Head Quarters, and messing with General Shoup, Chief of Staff, throughout the siege. Numerous

²⁴HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, March, 1939, p. 83.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 80.

services were held, chiefly in Hospitals and in the open air. Many were also confirmed on sick beds, under an arbor, and sometimes, at an unexpected encounter, under the shade of a tree on the roadside, including Gen. Hood, Commander in Chief, officers of various grades, and privates."²⁶

The night after the battle of Shiloh he arrived at Huntsville, Alabama, only to find it occupied by Federal troops, which remained in possession for nearly five months. He writes:

"For two weeks of this period I was imprisoned, in common with eleven citizens of the town, arrested as hostages; most of the time I was in solitary confinement under guard."²⁷

On December 22, 1862, he crossed the river at Vicksburg, and reached Arkansas six days later, preaching at Pine Bluff and confirming eight persons. This congregation was worshipping in a borrowed church, but the bishop "was gratified to observe how it had carried on under many difficulties." In general the work in Arkansas was sorely crippled by the strife. The church at Little Rock was used as a military hospital; Helena was taken for a post chapel; it was reported that "Fayetteville is desolated. Van Buren nearly so by repeated raids." The bishop summed up the situation when he noted that "for part of the time services had been suspended, without exception, in every parish and station." The clergy were scattered and some were compelled to engage in secular occupation to earn a living.

At the close of the War Bishop Lay had in Arkansas "two unsupported clergymen, without cure, laboring for their daily bread." Some of the former clergy returned so that in 1868 he was able to report six presbyters at work, one without parochial charge and one deacon. So far as the Indian Territory was concerned he said: "I know of but two or three communicants in that region."

REUNION

When the General Convention of 1865 convened at Philadelphia the War was over and the way was paved to the reunion of the Church to the North and to the South.

There were notable absences. The clerical and lay deputies from the dioceses of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia did not answer to the roll, though their names were called. The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies by formal

²⁶HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, March, 1939, pp. 78-79.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 81.

resolution offered "its profound gratitude to God that we have among us our brethren, the Clerical and Lay Deputies from the dioceses of Texas, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and that we recognize their presence in our midst as a token and pledge of the future and entire restoration of the union of the Church throughout the length and breadth of the land." A further move in the healing of the breach was the recognition of the validity of the consecration of Bishop W. H. Wilmer, of Alabama, who had been consecrated in the Confederate Church.

Bishop Lay had much to do with the restoration of unity. Together with Bishop Thomas Atkinson, of North Carolina, he attended the opening service of the convention.

What followed is thus graphically described:

"At the opening services of the General Convention of 1865 the two southern bishops modestly took seats with the congregation in the nave of the church; and a thrill of deep emotion passed through the vast assembly when their presence was observed, and it was whispered that the South was coming back. Messengers were sent to conduct them to seats among the other bishops in the chancel,—a courtesy of which they were fully sensible, but which they felt it proper to decline. After the service the Bishops of New York and Maryland went with others to greet them, and with friendly violence drew them towards the House of Bishops. It was then, when they hesitated to enter that house until they should know on what terms and with what understanding they were to be received, that Bishop Potter addressed to them the memorable words: 'Trust all to the love and honor of your brethren.' They could ask, and they desired, no other assurance. They knew the men with whom they had to deal. They entered without further hesitation, and the House of Bishops nobly redeemed the noble pledge made by the Bishop of New York."²⁸

Bishop Lay took his seat in the House of Bishops on the second day of the convention.

It only remains to say that at the final meeting of the Council of the Church in the Confederate States the dioceses in union with the Council were made free to resume their former ecclesiastical relations, and the Council itself dissolved.

Reunion left Arkansas in an anomalous position. It had become a diocese and Lay had been recognized as diocesan, but there was no diocese that could function. No diocesan convention could convene, for there were no clergy entitled to seats, and no lay delegates could

²⁸Perry. *History of the American Episcopal Church*, Vol. II, Monograph VIII. *The Church in the Confederate States*, by the Rev. John Fulton, D. D., LL.D., pp. 560-692.

be gathered. Under these circumstances Bishop Lay acted the part of a Christian statesman expressing his willingness that Arkansas should again become a missionary district and he himself revert to the status of a missionary bishop in the reunited Church.

Recovery was slow, hampered by lack of clergy and of means. From 1865 to 1868 he confirmed only 264 persons, "largely non-parochial."

In 1869 he was elected bishop of the newly formed diocese of Easton, Maryland.

The Arkansas Churchman says of his work in Arkansas:

"A true pioneer, a conscientious and indefatigable worker, a great soul and a Christian statesman of the first rank was Henry Champlin Lay, who drew together, and really established these early beginnings with some degree of permanence during the ten years of his Episcopate."²⁹

He died September 17, 1885.

HENRY NILES PIERCE 1870-1899

In the year 1870 Henry Niles Pierce, rector of St. Paul's Church, Springfield, Illinois, was elected Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. It was an auspicious moment in the development of the State. The wounds of the War were healing slowly. Railroads had arrived; the population was increasing; that of Little Rock from four to fifteen thousand in six years. The Church in Arkansas was faced with a great opportunity for expansion, the new bishop giving himself unsparingly to the task for the twenty-nine years of his episcopate. In less than two years the number of clergy increased from eight to twelve, and confirmations doubled. When the diocese was organized in 1871 it had 11 priests, 1 deacon and 720 communicants. Fortunately, we are able to reproduce, in substance, the following address read by Mr. W. Henry Rector, historiographer of the diocese, at the convention of 1946. It reads as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHER

It was Quinquagesima, February 27, 1870, the steamer Clarksville, which had left New Orleans on the 20th bound for Little Rock, was tied up upon a sandbar down the river from the town of Pine Bluff. It re-

²⁹Diamond Jubilee Number. *Arkansas Churchman*, January, 1946.

quired a cable from the shore to pull her off the sandbar, and just about 3:00 in the afternoon she docked at Pine Bluff. There was the usual activity attendant upon the arrival of a river boat. The Negro stevedores began to remove the cargo, consisting principally of bales of goods, barrels of flour and sugar, casks of molasses and undoubtedly also barrels of whiskey.

The gangplank was lowered and among the passengers going ashore was a large, well built man in clerical clothes. He was accompanied by his wife and two small daughters. There was something striking about his appearance. He walked with a step that was both firm and sure. His posture was erect. He was about 50 years of age and one seeing him would have been immediately impressed, and especially by the appearance of his face, which radiated both intellectuality and kindness. Indeed, if the observer had been religiously inclined he might well have thought of another journey in another age made by the great Apostle to the Gentiles.

We follow this gentleman down the gangplank until his feet rest for the first time upon the soil of Arkansas, the State in which he is to live and labor for nearly thirty years.

There were less than one-half million people living in Arkansas at that time. The population of Little Rock was 12,000. Pine Bluff had a population of 2,000, and Fort Smith and Helena each had a population of about 2,200. It had been just a few years since the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. The southland, Arkansas included, was still in the throes of reconstruction. The carpetbagger was on all sides. The government of the State was still, to a large extent, in the control of those who had been her conquerors. The people were poor, in many cases destitute. The Constitution of 1874 (under which the State now operates) had not been written. But this stranger, though he came from the North, was not a carpetbagger. He was a Missionary in the Church of God.

Our distinguished passenger was none other than the Rt. Rev. Henry Niles Pierce, D. D., LL. D., the 95th bishop in the American succession of the Historic Episcopate. He recently had been elected Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. . . .

Bishop Pierce was consecrated in Christ Church, Mobile, Alabama, January 25, 1870; Bishop Green, of Mississippi, being the consecrator; Bishop Wilmer, of Alabama, and Bishop Young, of Florida, being the presentors, and Bishop Whitehouse, of Illinois, preaching the sermon.

He was born in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, October 19, 1820, and was graduated from Brown University in 1842. His theological studies

were chiefly under the direction of Dr. Francis Vinton³⁰ and Rev. George W. Hathaway, both of Rhode Island.³¹ His family were members of the Baptist denomination and he first thought of entering the Baptist ministry. When he began to study, however, he found that the Episcopal Church was nearer in all respects to the original Church as founded by our Lord and His Apostles.

Because of the rigors of the New England climate, which affected adversely his throat and bronchia, he, on advice of his physician, moved to a warmer climate, first to Florida and later to Texas. He was ordered deacon, April 23, 1848, by Bishop George W. Freeman, ordained to the priesthood in Matagorda, Texas, January 3, 1849, and began his ministry in Washington County, that State, where he founded the churches of St. Peter at Brenham and St. Paul at Washington, later becoming rector of Christ Church at Matagorda, where on April 18 he married Miss Nannie Haywood Sheppard. His work kept him out in the balmy Texas air most of the time, with the result that he acquired an unusually strong physique and enjoyed good health, which continued until his last illness and death nearly 50 years later.

He served for a time as rector of St. Paul's Church, Rahway, New Jersey, and in October, 1857, became rector of St. John's Parish, Mobile, Alabama, where he remained for eleven years. During the summer of 1858 he and a Roman Catholic priest were the only ministers who remained through the severest epidemic of yellow fever that ever visited Mobile.

In November, 1868, he accepted a call to St. Paul's Church, Springfield, Illinois, where he had been a little more than a year when he was elected by the House of Bishops to be Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. He was the fourth Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, his predecessors having been Bishop Leonidas Polk (1838-1841), Bishop George Washington Freeman (1844-1858), and Bishop Henry Champlin Lay (1859-1869).

At the time of Bishop Pierce's consecration, the Church in Arkansas was exceedingly weak. There was, according to Bishop Lay, a total com-

³⁰Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton, born at Providence, Rhode Island, August 29, 1809. Ordered Deacon by Bishop A. V. Griswold, September 30, 1838. Rector St. Stephen's, Providence, R. I.; Trinity Church, Newport, R. I.; Emmanuel and Grace Churches, Brooklyn, New York. In 1855 he became an assistant minister of Trinity Parish, New York City, being assigned to St. Paul's Chapel. He died September 29, 1872.

³¹Rev. George Washington Hathaway. Ordered Deacon by Bishop Bower, of South Carolina, December 10, 1824. In 1826 he is listed as minister of St. David's, Cheraw, South Carolina. In the Journal of 1829 it is recorded that "This gentleman removed into the Eastern Diocese, about two years ago, without the usual Canonical dismission from this diocese." In 1832 it is stated that he was "sometime minister of St. Mark's, Warren, Rhode Island."

municant strength of 605. There were only five church buildings and one rectory. We quote the following from a note by the Secretary of the Diocese appearing in the Journal of the twenty-third Annual Council:

"When the Bishop took charge of the jurisdiction to which he was assigned he entered upon a life of hardship, sacrifice and unrelenting toil. The field he had entered was a purely missionary field, with a few scattered congregations, very feeble, both in means and numbers, and far removed from one another. The Episcopal visitations involved great labor, fatigue and exposure. Only a very strong man physically could undertake such work. The only railroad at that time in the State was the Memphis and Little Rock, and perhaps some portions of other lines. The great Iron Mountain system (now the Missouri Pacific), had not been completed. The railroad bridge at Little Rock was not built until 1872-73. Traveling in the State was mostly by stages, private conveyances and by boat.

"The above statement will give some idea of the missionary field and work upon which the Bishop had entered. The old journals, as well as the later ones, show that he traveled as many as eight and nine thousand miles each year, which is a remarkable record of endurance and faithfulness of purpose."

THE BISHOP'S JOURNAL

The entry in Bishop's Pierce's Journal covering the day he first put foot on the soil of Arkansas is interesting. It is as follows:

"February 27. Quinquagesima. Hoped to reach Pine Bluff in time for morning services, as the boat intends stopping there for several hours. But the boat struck on a bar and was detained 3 or 4 hours. After trying to spar her over in vain, a cable was run ashore and we hauled over. Arrived at Pine Bluff at 3 o'clock. Here I first set my foot on the soil of Arkansas. I inquired my way to the building (a Baptist Chapel now rented for Church services) where the Rev. Mr. Trimble holds services. The children were assembling to practice Church music. Their bright, intelligent faces and quiet manners impressed me very favorably with the Church people in Arkansas on this my first glimpse of them. Learning that the minister, Mr. Trimble, was expected there momentarily, I waited for him, as his residence was nearly a mile away as I understood. After a little I walked out a few squares to see the new Church now being erected. It is of brick, Gothic in style and the plans correctly carried out. It will be a very beautiful Church— . . . The walls are up and the roof is now being covered. Returning to the Chapel found that Mr. T. had not yet made his appearance. Mr. (not legible) offered to take me in his buggy to his house. Mrs. Pierce and the girls went back to the boat. Found Mr. T. not well. Had a very pleasant reception and a

delightful little call. Then Mrs. T. drove me to the boat, it had been waiting for nearly an hour, though I had been absent only the 2½ hours that the Captain had told me I could have ashore. Bidding Mrs. T. a hurried goodbye I went aboard and at 5½ o'clock we started again up the river."

Starting with the day of his consecration, Bishop Pierce began to keep this journal. He continued it practically until the time of his death nearly 30 years later. It comprises some six or seven large ledger books, the old-fashioned type ledger, and is written entirely in longhand. I find it interesting to pursue it further and quote as follows from entries made during his first year as Missionary Bishop:

"(Little Rock)—March 2, Ash Wednesday. My first service in Arkansas. Mr. Morrell said Morning Prayer. I said the Ante-Communion and preached. A fair congregation for a week day as compared with other localities. At 7 p. m. the Rector, Rev. Henry H. Morrell, said evening services and I preached again. Kept the day as a strict fast from sundown to sundown. In the afternoon, Mr. Morrell, myself and wife called at Mr. Gilbert Knapp's to see about arranging for board.

"March 3. Myself and family moved from the rectory to Mr. Knapp's. At night was called to go to Capt. Kidders, whose wife was lying very sick. I drove to the rectory and told Mr. Morrell of the case and at his request proceeded on the visit. Found the patient very low. She had heard of the arrival of the new Bishop and wished much to see him. My visit seemed to comfort her not a little. We find ourselves very satisfactorily settled at Mr. Knapp's. The family consists only of Mr. K. and wife. A son of Mrs. K. is now at school in Virginia with General Lee.

"March 29. Arrived at Augusta about 5 o'clock this morning. Rev. C. A. Bruce and Mr. Stevens at whose house I am to stay while here, met me. . . . After breakfast I called with Mr. B. at Col. Patterson's office where I met also Col. Pickett and many others, mostly lawyers. The Circuit Court is in session here, Judge William Story presiding. William H. Hawes, Esq., District Attorney. They both reside at Madison. They both called on me in the afternoon and after a long, interesting conversation they almost decided to come to Confirmation. I will add here what I learned the next day from Mr. Hawes that they, Judge S. and himself had determined to come forward, the former for Baptism and both for Confirmation, early in June at Little Rock, where they expected to be at that time on business. Col. Pickett also defers Confirmation for the reason that he is now awaiting trial on a political charge of treason against the State of Arkansas arising from real or supposed opposition to the doings of the militia here last year. We came near to giving a visible illustration of the manner in

which the Church ignores all merely political questions by exhibiting the Judge, the prosecuting attorney and the accused all kneeling side by side to receive the Apostolic rite of Confirmation.

"April 25. About 2 o'clock the boat reached Van Buren. As she laid there several hours we, Capt. Wells and myself, took a stroll through the town. It is in situation beautiful, lying at the foot of a hill . . . the eastern extremity of the Boston Mountain range. The view from the hill top behind the town, as I learned subsequently, is a very fine one. The place is neat and gradually recovering from the effects of the War. At 5 o'clock we reached Ft. Smith. . . . The first person I met at Ft. Smith was Mr. Long, a brother-in-law of Ralph Marsh, Rahway, N. J., with whom I was acquainted a dozen years since. . . . The Rev. Mr. Sandels came to meet me and also Col. Brooks. Mr. Sandels took me in his buggy first to Mr. Leymour's banking house and then to his residence. I am to be his guest here. At 7½ we had service in St. John's Church, Ft. Smith. Mr. Sandels said Evening Prayer and I preached. . . . After the service there was a meeting of the congregation adjourned from Easter Monday to determine whether the pews for the ensuing year should be free or rented. . . . The congregation decided for free pews. Thank God, Thank God.

"April 29. . . . At 12½ noon took the stage to Fayetteville, Washington Co., over Boston Mountain. This is accounted the rough road of Arkansas. I shall not recommend it as a pleasure drive. But if the stage driver can travel it daily without grumbling for \$30 a month, I can take it patiently once or twice a year. Gen. F. C. Armstrong very kindly furnished me with a free pass. Distance 60 miles. Rode all night the road too rough for sleeping. (30) Morning. Mrs. Bell sent her servant girl to the stage to inquire whether I had arrived, who took me bag and baggage to her home. After breakfast I took a nap for two hours. Calls from Dr. Charles W. Deane, Mr. Charles H. Leverett, Mr. Washington, Mr. Lindsey, Editor of the "Echo" and the Rev. Mr. Hoge, our missionary here. At 7½ Mr. Hoge said Evening Prayer and I preached to a good congregation. The services were held in the Academy, it being larger than the hall where they were wont to assemble. There was a small church here but it was blown down during the war and now nothing remains but a part of the foundation on which it rested. The situation is good, but as at Ft. Smith, the Church lot is too small. There are vacant lots adjoining and I have advised the Churchmen at Fayetteville to secure more ground if possible and even to change the site if necessary to this end.

"May 30. Left Hot Springs for Little Rock at 4 o'clock a. m. and arrived at 7 p. m. Distance 60 miles. . . . I add here a summary of my work on the Upper Arkansas and at Hot Springs. I have been on these trips 33 days—I have traveled 821 miles held services 30 times; preached 29 sermons; cate-

chized 1—administered Holy Communion 6 times (once in private); baptized 1 adult and 4 infants; confirmed 22 persons on 8 different occasions; made 6 Confirmation addresses and 4 others in explanation of the Church's faith and practice."

Bishop Pierce was a man of great scholarly attainments. He had taught higher mathematics at Brown University and was learned in the ancient languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. His fame as a scholar extended far beyond the Missionary District of Arkansas. It was recognized by an Archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed him upon a Commission to confer with the Greek Church with reference to the translation of a word in the Nicene Creed on which the Eastern and Western branches of the Church Catholic disagreed. The Eastern Orthodox Church rendered the phrase "From the Father *through the Son*," while the Western Church had it to read, "From the Father *and* the Son." It is interesting to note in this connection that Bishop Pierce differed from his brethren of the Anglican Communion and concurred in the interpretation by the scholars of the Eastern Church.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DIOCESE

In the spring of 1871, Bishop Pierce, realizing that something should be done to strengthen the Church in Arkansas, called a Convocation of the clergy and laity to be held upon Ascension Day (May 18) at Christ Church, Little Rock. At this Convocation there were seven clergymen present, to-wit: Rev. Messrs. W. C. Stout, D. C. McManus, R. W. Trimble, R. G. Jenkins, C. A. Bruce, C. M. Hoge and T. B. Lee. There were lay delegates from three parishes—Messrs. Barber, Christ Church, Little Rock; Ramsey, St. Paul's, Batesville, and Stone, St. John's, Helena. The Bishop in his Journal for May 18th says, "My object in summoning this Convocation was to effect some organization of the Churchmen of the State for more effective work. Having proposed several points for consideration, committees were appointed to report thereon." On the next day, May 19, Rev. W. C. Stout, Chairman of the Committee on Organization reported in favor of a full Diocesan organization. This report was adopted, as well as a resolution requesting the Bishop to call a Primary Convention. The day fixed was St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1871.

I quote the following from the minutes of that Convention:

"At a meeting of the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of Arkansas, and Lay Delegates from the Parishes therein, in Primary Convention, called by the Rt. Rev. H. N. Pierce, Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, at the suggestion of a previous convocation of the Clergy, for the purpose of or-

ganizing a Diocese, and held at Christ Church, Little Rock, on Thursday, the 24th day of August, A. D., 1871, after morning services, a charge by the Bishop and the Communion:

PRESENT

The Rt. Rev. H. N. Pierce, Missionary Bishop;
 Rev. D. McManus, of St. John's Church, Ft. Smith
 Rev. W. C. Stout, of Hawkstone Church, Perry Co.
 Rev. P. G. Jenkins, of Grace Church, Washington
 Rev. R. W. Trimble, of Trinity Church, Pine Bluff
 Rev. T. J. Beard, of St. John's Church, Helena
 Rev. John Gordon, of St. Michael's Church, Arkadelphia
 Rev. P. S. Ruth, of Hot Springs Church, Hot Springs.

The Rt. Rev. H. N. Pierce, D. D., LL. D., presiding, called the Convention to order, and appointed the Rev. Messrs. Stout and McManus a Committee on Credentials of Lay Delegates, who reported that the credentials of the following Delegates were in due form:

Messrs. John Wassell, for Christ Church, Little Rock
 C. H. Stone, for St. John's Church, Camden;
 R. V. McCracken, for Trinity Church, Pine Bluff;
 John P. McClendenin, for St. Paul's Church, Batesville
 J. T. Jones and } for St. John's Church, Helena.
 W. A. Stone }

Messrs. Wassell, C. H. Stone, McCracken and Clendenin, being present, took their seats as Lay Delegates.

On motion, L. E. Barber was elected Secretary of the Convention."

Mr. Barber was clerk of the Supreme Court of Arkansas.

The profound and primitive Catholicity of Bishop Pierce dominated his entire address to the Convention. I quote from it as follows:

"Brethren of the Clergy and Laity:

"We are met together to organize the Church in Arkansas into a Diocese, if, on mature deliberation, such a step should seem wise and expedient.

"When I summoned the Clergy and Laity to meet me in convocation a few months ago, I did not look for speedy action in this direction. It seemed, indeed, very desirable that we should have some organization of the Church here. The Parishes and Clergy were but *disjecta membra*. Each Clergyman stood isolated; each one was working alone. None ex-

tended a helping hand to his brother, for they were strangers to one another. Our system, practically, was pure Congregationalism, save that the Bishop was a connecting link to hold them loosely together. We lacked the strength that is derived from combination. And the very loneliness of his position depressed the heart and enfeebled the energies to a greater or less degree. My desire was to bring nearer each to each these scattered fragments that there might be united and cooperative action.

But when the committee charged with the duty of considering the subject of organization began to weigh the matter, they were, at every step, more and more impressed with the fact that no organization would be adequate to our wants, save such as would give the Church in Arkansas a full and complete Diocesan character. I was, therefore, requested to summon a Primary Convention of the Diocese of Arkansas, at Little Rock, at some time near the end of summer. We are now met in accordance with the resolution then passed. The Church in Arkansas is now more fully represented than at our former meeting, and you come authorized to take such action as may redound to the glory of God and the prosperity of this portion of the Lord's vineyard.

A committee, appointed at our Convocation in May last, has prepared a draft of the Constitution and Canons, to be laid before you. This much was done in order that we might not be compelled to hurry up the work of weeks and months in a few days. This is but a draft, to be altered as you see fit, or to be thrown aside for something better, if such be offered.

You are, of course, too well taught to imagine that we are about to adopt a Constitution of the Church, whether in Arkansas or elsewhere. The Church received her Divine Constitution more than eighteen centuries since. The essential government and laws of the Church of God were established by her founders in the beginning, and no man, or collection of men, have any power to change them. But in the beginning many things were left to be arranged by human wisdom, and consequently these vary according to the exigencies of time, and place, and circumstances. . . . The Apostles and Apostolic men of old arranged well the Church's system, and the nearer we approach to the early Church the more efficient we shall find our organization. And I believe we can lay a foundation now for a nearer approach, in some respects at least, to the primitive system than the Church in this country has ever made. I refer here to the primitive Diocesan system."³²

³²Bishop Pierce strongly believed that in the Primitive Church a diocese took the name of the see city, and not of a political division. The new diocese was admitted into union at the General Convention of 1871. The clerical deputies were the Rev. Messrs. Caleb A. Bruce, Robert W. Trimble, William C. Stout, Thomas J. Beard, the one lay deputy being Mr. R. V. McCracken, of Pine Bluff. At this Convention the bishop reported 9 churches, 1 chapel, 11 presbyters, one deacon, and 720 communicants.

The Primary Convention consumed three days. In addition to those who were present at the opening session, the minutes show that on the last day of the Convention, the Rev. C. A. Bruce, of St. Paul's, Batesville; Grace Church, Jacksonport, and St. Paul's, Augusta; Dr. J. A. Stinson, lay delegate from Grace Church, Jacksonport, and Messrs. J. M. Bosley and P. K. Roots, delegates from St. Paul's, Augusta, were present.

A Committee on Constitution and Canons, which had been appointed at the Convocation held in May preceding, made its report, and the Constitution and Canons presented were, with slight amendments, proposed by the Convention.

ELECTION OF DIOCESAN BISHOP

At 4:00 on the afternoon of the third day, the same being a special order, the Convention proceeded to the election of a Bishop for the Diocese of Arkansas. After Convention prayer and a few moments devoted to silent prayer, the Clergy retired. Shortly thereafter they returned and announced that they had unanimously nominated, by ballot, the Rt. Rev. Henry Niles Pierce as the Bishop of the Diocese of Arkansas. Bishop Pierce then called the Rev. Mr. Trimble to the chair and retired from the room. The Lay Delegates, voting by Parishes, then proceeded to ballot on the nomination made by the Clergy, and unanimously concurred therein. A Committee being appointed to notify the Bishop-elect, retired and after a time reported that they had performed the duty assigned them, and that the Bishop would respond in person.

The minutes of the meeting read as follows: "The Bishop, having entered and resumed the Chair, addressed the Council in regard to the Episcopate; declaring that, though at this time he was not prepared to accept or decline the office of Bishop of the Diocese of Arkansas, he would not leave his present field of labor until the Diocese of Arkansas was prepared to sustain a Bishop."

Resolutions were adopted providing for the purchase of a life insurance policy on the life of the Bishop in the sum of \$20,000. This Resolution is not as clear as it might be, but it was evidently the intention to make the proceeds of this policy an endowment for the Episcopate, if and when it should be paid.

Under the Constitution adopted, the governing body of the Diocese was called "the Council." Under the Constitution now in effect it is styled "the Convention."

The first annual meeting of this Council was held in Christ Church, Little Rock, beginning May 9, 1872. The Constitution and Canons pre-

viously proposed by the Primary Convention were read and, after slight amendments, were adopted. Although Bishop Pierce had not accepted his election as Bishop of the Diocese, he presided at this meeting of the Council.

With reference to his election as Diocesan, he said :

“I am not, therefore, even now, prepared to accept the office of Diocesan of Arkansas. Should the Council, however, desire to settle the matter before the assembling of the next General Convention, I will not impede any action that it may now wish to take. I will decline, at once, and leave it as perfectly free as it was before my election. If, on the other hand, I still reserve my answer, it must be with the express understanding that the election continue in as full force as it had on the day it was made, and that I have the time till the next General Convention in which to make my answer, unless I may deem it expedient to accept sooner. I leave the decision of this matter in the hands of this Council, and will be guided by its wishes. Meantime, I cannot but urge you to take steps looking to the future support of the Episcopacy of Arkansas. The measures proposed at our Primary Council have, so far, proved abortive. I feel that I can urge this subject upon your consideration with all the more freedom, in as much as it does not concern myself personally.”

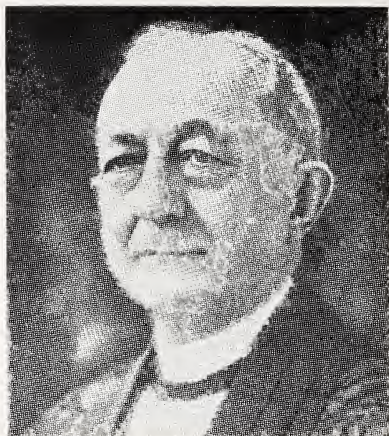
The failure of the Bishop to accept his election was due wholly to the utter inability of the Diocese to pay him even a meager salary with which to support himself, his wife and four children. (He had two sons, Wallace and Harry, who were students at Sewanee.) As Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory, his salary was payable by the General Church and, being entirely without independent means, he continued his status as such Missionary Bishop. It was not until the 17th Annual Council meeting in May, 1889, that he formally announced that he then and there accepted the Episcopate of the Diocese of Arkansas. His acceptance was duly acknowledged by a rising vote of the Council.

Bishop Pierce's labors for nearly 30 years in the Diocese of Arkansas, the great hardships which he suffered and the noble work which he accomplished cannot be recounted at this time. It now only remains for me to say that he steadfastly maintained his Churchmanship, free from the encrustations of medievalism, to the very end, as is evidenced by a memorial which he himself made with his poor, tired and feeble fingers in his 79th year and in the 30th year of his Episcopate, just two days before his translation to the Church Triumphant, September 5, 1899. I read the good Bishop's Last Will and Testament :

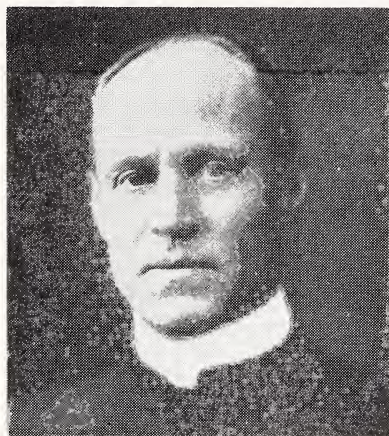
ARKANSAS BISHOPS



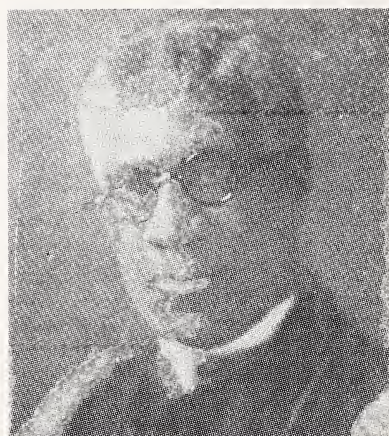
WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN
(Coadjutor, 1898)
(1899-1912)



JAMES RIDOUT WINCHESTER
(Coadjutor, 1911)
(1912-1931)



EDWIN WARREN SAPHORE
(Suffragan, 1917)
(1935-1937)



EDWARD THOMAS DEMBY
(Suffragan, 1918-1939)

"If I am to die soon, as I think I am, I wish to say I avow that I die in the faith of one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, before the great schism between the east and west. I ask that Bishop Brown will continue the modest ritual which I have established in harmony with Catholic usage. In regard to my worldly affairs, I leave them at the disposition of my wife, she to be the sole executrix, without any bonds. That is my last will and testament.

(signed) HENRY NILES PIERCE."

This saintly man has been gone nearly 50 years, but if you would see his monument, just look about you in this beautiful Cathedral which he built to the honor of God and for the service of his fellowman.

And now in closing, may I be pardoned for a slight personal digression. You see, Bishop Pierce baptized me when I was an infant, and when I was but yet a small boy I remember seeing him on two or three occasions when he would make his Episcopal visitations to the little mission at Nashville, where a handful of the faithful would be gathered together, my blessed Mother among them.

Looking back through the years, I can see him tonight through the eyes of my boyhood. An old man with snow-white hair and streaming white beard, clad in the rich robes of his high office, and standing before God's Altar with his arm extended toward the congregation, and I can hear again the full, vibrant and mellow tones of his voice as he pronounced the Benediction. It seemed to me then and it seems to me now that he must have stepped from the very pages of the Old Testament—a Patriarch of olden days. That vision of my boyhood has never left me. It never will.

W. HENRY RECTOR, *Historiographer*.

WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN
1898-1912

Increasing infirmity compelled Bishop Pierce to ask for a coadjutor and the Rev. William Montgomery Brown, of the Diocese of Ohio, was elected coadjutor of Arkansas and was consecrated June 24, 1898.

Born near Orville, Ohio, November 6, 1855, he studied theology at Bexley, Kenyon College, and was ordered deacon June 17, 1883, by Bishop Bedell and advanced to the priesthood on May 22, 1884, by the same bishop. He began his ministry in charge of Grace mission, Galion, Ohio, and then became general missionary of the diocese with the title of archdeacon and was acting as such when he was elected bishop. He became diocesan on the death of Bishop Pierce in 1899; resigned his jurisdiction in 1912, and was deposed for heresy in 1925.

His administration in Arkansas is summed up with great discrimination by Bishop Richard Bland Mitchell in his address to the diocesan convention of 1946, in the course of which he said:

I have given much study to Bishop William Montgomery Brown and his era. In order to understand what happened, it is necessary to describe him. I have seen Bishop Brown on occasions; but I never met him. The most charitable thing (and admittedly true) we can say about his meteoric career and ultimate Deposition from the Sacred Ministry is that his mind gave way; and manifestly that process was on in his latter days as our Diocesan. He was essentially ego-centric; and he loved to adventure into the realms of the intellect and of theology quite beyond his mental capacity; and so he careened on to a tragic end.

But Bishop Brown was a remarkable man, and in many respects ahead of his times. In 1902 he recommended the creation of a Board of Trustees to care for our various permanent funds which were then handled by individual members of the Diocese; it was 25 years before we adopted that plan. When, in 1901, General Convention adopted the then revolutionary idea of the Apportionment Plan for the support of General Missions (what we call the General Church Program today), Bishop Brown immediately put in a unified program and budget for Diocesan and General Church missionary work and divided the Apportionment receipts on a percentage and partnership basis between the Diocese and the General Board of Missions (now National Council). It was 18 years before the Church at large adopted that principle in General Convention—the system on which the Church has now operated for 25 years. He urged the wisdom of corporate surety bonds for all Church treasurers some 20 to 30 years before it was written into the Canon law of General Convention. As for publicity, he was an artist at it of the calibre to match that of the present day; he loved publicity for himself—and he certainly succeeded in getting it.

Bishop Brown was a strategist and planner. He had a "ten-year plan" 20 years before Soviet Russia was born and introduced the "plan" vogue. But all his careful planning suffered from lack of judgment both in emphasis and in selection of personnel. The baleful effects of it have reached unto this day in the Diocese. Under this plan he enlisted friends and organizations outside of Arkansas to provide \$10,000 a year for 10 years; and he, on his part, was to build 5 churches or chapels, 2 rectories, and put 2 additional clergy in the field—\$100,000, 50 churches, 20 rectories, 20 new clergy in 10 years, at the end of which time he would have the Diocese of Arkansas self-supporting. And he nearly did it, despite his suffering intensely for four of those ten years with what he called "nervous prostration." His final report claims 44 new churches, 18 rectories

and 15 new clergy recruited; and, in addition, the establishment of the Helen Dunlap School for Mountain Girls. Also the acquiring of an Episcopal Residence of 22 rooms, and a Diocesan office building adjoining. And the Convention Journal of 1911 reports, "We are now a self-supporting Diocese"—which condition lasted perhaps a year!

Here was inflation in a large way! In 1938 I found 36 church buildings in operation, 13 of which are not due to Bishop Brown's regime. Thus 21 of his 44 have disappeared (although two of them still stand—closed: Mammoth Spring and St. Mark's, Little Rock.) There were a number of rectories before he came. I found only 20 despite the 18 he built. His final report on the "plan" lists 30 places in Arkansas where the fruits of his labors and building have since disappeared, including the Helen Dunlap School.

At Bishop Pierce's death, 21 of our present congregations were in operation. At the end of Bishop Brown's "ten-year plan," he reports 52 organized congregations and 25 mission stations—a total of 77. Of the 52 congregations, 21 have disappeared, and of his 25 mission stations only 4 survived to become organized missions under Bishop Winchester—making 14 congregations in all growing out of Bishop Brown's era, a not inconsiderable contribution. We have 37 organized congregations today: 21 from Bishop Pierce and his predecessors; 14 from Bishop Brown's "plan"; one from Bishop Winchester's Episcopate (Christ Church, Forrest City, developed by Bishop Demby about 1922); and one so far in my day (St. Peter's, Conway, admitted as an organized mission in 1942).

Bishop Brown had a vision and a plan and tremendous energy. He spied out the land, tried to visualize what towns would become strategic, and sought to bring the Church in on the ground floor, so to speak. Not all that has disappeared was lost; souls were reached and ministered to the better part of a generation; there has been an increment to the Kingdom and to the life of the Church at large.

Bishop Brown's generalship failed in two vital respects. He seemed to feel that erecting a church building rather automatically established the Church in that community. And with all his inflation program, he failed to develop the financial or giving muscles of the Diocese—the habit of self-support within the Diocese. He left a greatly increased physical equipment with no corresponding increase in the financial support from within the Diocese to keep the equipment staffed and in operation.

Deflation

The inevitable happened. When the "ten-year plan" was through, Bishop Brown was through; he practically turned the Diocese over to his new Coadjutor, Bishop Winchester, and the next year (1912) resigned his jurisdiction entirely (I infer being urgently persuaded thereto by the Diocese).

JAMES RIDOUT WINCHESTER 1911-1931

In the year 1911 Dr. Winchester, rector of Calvary Church, Memphis, Tennessee, was elected coadjutor of Arkansas, and on the resignation of Bishop Brown the following year, he became diocesan. He was consecrated September 29, 1911.

Born at Annapolis, Maryland, May 15, 1852, he graduated from Washington and Lee University and from the Virginia Theological Seminary; was ordained deacon in 1877, and priested the following year by Bishop Whittle, of Virginia. Commencing his ministry as assistant in St. James' Church, Richmond, Virginia, he served as rector in the dioceses of Alabama, Virginia, Georgia, Missouri, and Tennessee.

On the retirement of Bishop Brown in 1912 he became diocesan and labored unceasingly for nearly twenty years.

He entered on his work at a critical period in the life of the diocese. The Brown "boom" had collapsed. The diocese was suffering from over-expansion, which had no solid foundation. The inevitable result was the abandonment of some organized missions; some churches were perforce closed for lack of financial support and the properties sold. The altar fires in not a few cases, died down, and Arkansas again became an "aided diocese." He entered on what was apparently a hopeless task, and what would have been so but for the fact that his faith and courage never failed.

He had all the essential qualities of a bishop. He was a scholar, and excellent preacher, and in the best sense of the word "a Christian gentleman." But first and foremost, he was a shepherd of souls, a Father in God, not only to his clergy, but also to countless numbers of the flock throughout the State. He was ever true to his consecration vows "to be gentle, merciful for Christ's sake to the poor and needy and to all strangers destitute of help."

In his address at the convention of 1946 the present diocesan paid the following just and beautiful tribute to Bishop Winchester, saying:

"It was indeed a sardonic and cruel fate which drew the saintly Bishop Winchester into this vortex of deflation and liquidation. His gentle spirit and loving heart were not geared to such a whirlwind. Yet God's purpose must have been to build something sacred and enduring into the Diocese through the spirit and toil of this godly man. His mark is all over the Diocese—invisible, intangible, of the quality of the eternal—in lives brought closer to the heavenly Father because James Ridout Winchester had passed this way. I have often thought that it was due to his consecrated discipleship and his mirroring

of the strong beauty of the Master that there was anything left of the Diocese of Arkansas. He was a spiritual giant whose strength is still at our disposal.

It was my privilege to know Bishop Winchester intimately for over 20 years before I ever dreamed of becoming his successor. The last time I saw him was in the summer of 1938 when, then your Bishop-elect, I spent some hours with him in Chicago. Physically weak and confined to his chair, his heart beat as strong as ever for Arkansas. It seemed to make him happy that I was coming to you. As we parted I knelt and asked for his blessing in the work I was to do in succession to him. He gave it; and then, bending in his chair, he demanded mine. That illustrates the humility of the man—that he, a Bishop in the Church of God and a saint by achievement, should need or desire the blessing of a very junior priest like me.”

In 1917 he obtained the help of a suffragan bishop; retired in 1931; died ten years later at the age of 89; having during his many years of sainthood and service “adorned the doctrine of God in Christ in all things.”

In the year 1917 Arkansas obtained its first suffragan bishop in the person of

EDWIN WARREN SAPHORE
1917-1935

who served in that capacity faithfully for 18 years.

Born at Rahway, New Jersey, September 17, 1854, he was ordered deacon on June 11, 1897, and priested June 3, 1898, by Bishop Huntington of Central New York on June 3, 1898, and was consecrated August 24, 1917. The early part of his ministry was spent in the diocese of Central New York, where he served in the following parishes: 1898, Jordan, New York; 1889-1901, St. John the Divine, Syracuse; 1901-1906, St. Paul's, Watertown, New York; 1906-1908, All Saints', Syracuse; also from 1900-1903 as professor of St. Andrew's Divinity School, Syracuse.

In 1909 he came to Arkansas, serving as archdeacon till 1917 when he was elected suffragan bishop. After the resignation of Bishop Winchester in 1931 the diocese found itself unable to elect a diocesan for four years, and remained in charge of the suffragan bishop till 1935, when Bishop Saphore was elected. He served for three years, retiring on January 1, 1938. His later years were spent at Syracuse, New York, where he died May 22, 1944, at the age of 89.

THE COLORED WORK

The Primary Convention of Arkansas in 1871 adopted a resolution declaring it to be the duty of the diocese to formulate a plan "for bringing the claims of the Church before the colored people of this State and the development of a native ministry among them."

The first step was taken by Bishop Pierce, who organized St. Philip's Mission at Little Rock, in 1887. It was admitted as a parish in 1889. The great development came under the Negro archdeacon, the Rev. G. A. McGuire, who organized in 1906:

St. Mary's, Hot Springs,
St. Augustine's, Fort Smith,
St. Andrew's, Pine Bluff.

Christ Church Mission, Forrest City, began May 1, 1921. It was the only Negro work organized after Bishop Demby became suffragan.

Bishop Winchester was deeply interested in Negro work. Personally, he favored a separate racial episcopate. Such provision came up at the General Conventions of 1913 and 1916. In the latter year the convention went on record as solving the problem by utilizing the suffragan episcopate.

Bishop Winchester, therefore, recommended to the diocesan convention the election of a suffragan bishop in Arkansas to care for the colored people and, in addition, to be available throughout the Province of the Southwest. The choice fell upon

EDWARD THOMAS DEMBY
1918-1939

Born at Wilmington, Delaware, February 13, 1869, he was ordered deacon in 1898, and ordained priest the following year by Bishop Gailor. He was consecrated suffragan bishop for Arkansas and the Southwest on September 29, 1918. He resigned in 1939.

RICHARD BLAND MITCHELL
1938

rector of St. Mary's Church, Birmingham, Alabama, was elected 8th Bishop of Arkansas in 1938 and was consecrated in Trinity Cathedral, Little Rock, on October 5th of that year.

The son of Ewing Young and Amanda (Medley) Mitchell, he was born at Rolla, Missouri, July 26, 1887, and graduated from the University of the South in 1908, receiving the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1931. He was ordered deacon in 1912, and ordained priest the following year by Bishop Bratton. From 1912 to 1915 he



RICHARD BLAND MITCHELL
(1938-)

served in an associate mission in Mississippi, and for 13 years he was an officer of the Board of Missions and the National Council. He was a clerical deputy to the General Conventions of 1931, 1934 and 1937.

Bishop Mitchell inherited the task of administering what used to be called "the most tragic diocese in the American Church." Due largely to his excellent judgment, his untiring industry and his enthusiasm, the diocese has taken a new lease of life. Writing recently the editor of *The Arkansas Churchman* said:

"Bishop Mitchell has brought to the most difficult task bequeathed to him the unusual administrative ability these tasks demanded. He has never been without strategy or plan, as anyone who reads his articles in '*The Churchman*' knows. A Layman's Bishop, he commands an extraordinary following through the Diocese and receives an increasing amount of co-operation from the many to whom he has given new vision and new hope in the future of the Church."

The process of re-building has been of necessity slow. Even now there are only four more active clergy than in 1871 when the diocese was organized. But today Arkansas has seven candidates for orders. For the fourth consecutive year every congregation has met its diocesan assessment in full and on time. For the third year in succession every congregation has met or exceeded its apportionment for the program of the Church in the diocese and in the world.

The Woman's Auxiliary, first organized by Bishop Pierce, is this year celebrating its 50th anniversary, and Bishop Mitchell has just organized The Episcopal Churchman's Association with the hope of seeing a branch in every parish.

The bishop is keenly interested in the welfare of young people. Camp Mitchell has been highly successful, but greater plans are ahead. The diocese now owns a splendid tract of land on Mount Petit Jean on which to build a Diocesan Conference and Educational Center.

Other plans are in the making, including the establishment of a diocesan headquarters, and the extension and strengthening of Negro work.

Arkansas is still a missionary field—a field white unto the harvest. In two-thirds of the counties of the State there is no organized Episcopal congregation, and that includes two college towns.

The diocese has come out of great tribulation, but it has girded on its armor and is marching through the valley toward the sunrising.

APPENDIX

EARLY MISSIONARIES AND RECTORS OF CHRIST CHURCH, LITTLE ROCK

Rev. William H. C. Yeager, ordered deacon and ordained priest by Bishop Polk.

Rev. James Young, ordered deacon by Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, August 13, 1837. Removed from Little Rock to Maryland.

Rev. William Trebell Saunders, ordered deacon in February, 1841, by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, of Pennsylvania. Served for two years, resigning to become rector of Trinity Church, Apalachicola, Florida.

Andrew Field Freeman, first rector of Christ Church, 1849. Born at Warrenton, North Carolina, December 3, 1822. Ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Alfred Lee, of Delaware. Resigned May 3, 1858. Died June, 1896.

William C. Stout, 1858. Born February 18, 1824. Ordered deacon July 15, 1847, by Bishop William Meade, of Virginia; ordained priest in 1848 by Bishop George Washington Freeman. Died at Morrilton, Arkansas, December 11, 1886.

John Thomas Wheat, D. D., 1859. Born in Washington, D. C., November 15, 1801. 1825 ordered deacon by Bishop Moore, of Virginia; priest by Bishop Kemp, of Maryland. 1835-1838 rector of St. Paul's, New Orleans, La.; 1839-1849 rector of Christ Church, Nashville, Tenn., resigning to become professor of Logic in the University of North Carolina, where he remained until 1859, when he came to Little Rock. Cut off from his parish, he became a chaplain in the Confederate Army. From July, 1867, until his retirement from the active ministry, he was rector of the Monumental Church of St. Lazarus, Memphis, Tenn. In the years 1838, 1841, 1844, 1847, 1868 and 1871 he was a clerical deputy to the General Convention. He died at Salisbury, North Carolina, February 2, 1888, aged 87.

P. G. Robert came to Little Rock as assistant to Bishop Lay, who served as rector of Christ Church in addition to his episcopal duties. Born at Richmond, Virginia, December 16, 1827, after a business career, he graduated from the Virginia Seminary. Was ordered deacon by Bishop William Meade on July 12, 1850, and advanced to the priesthood on December 18, 1851, by Bishop Johns. When the war broke out Mr.

Robert served as chaplain in the Confederate Army. He was in nine general engagements. He succeeded Bishop Lay as rector of Christ Church, Little Rock, remaining for two years. In 1869 he became first rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, St. Louis, Mo., resigning in 1898.

Henry Hobart Morrell, 1869-1870, succeeded Mr. Robert as rector of Christ Church. Born May 17, 1827, he was ordained priest by Bishop McIlvaine, March 14, 1856. Later he took charge of St. John's, Knoxville, Tenn., after which he was engaged in missionary work in Georgia, Florida and West Virginia. He died at Wheeling, West Virginia, January 2, 1889.

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BISHOP LAY

Documents Relating to the Diocese of Arkansas, 1861-1865, and Bishop Henry C. Lay Papers With Introduction and Notes by Henry T. Shanks. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, March, 1939: Pp. 66-90.

Invaluable source material. The Lay Papers are at the University of North Carolina. They include his Journal for 1862 and 1863.

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BOOK REVIEWS

John Henry Newman: Centenary Essays. Edited by Henry Tristram. (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd.; London, 1945.)

It was inevitable that the centenary of Newman's reception into the Roman Catholic Church by Father Dominic Barberi on October 9, 1845, should have received considerable recognition in Roman Catholic circles. And it was fitting that it should have been memorialized in the present series of essays, all of them of outstanding excellence, and all but one of them (apparently) written by men in the Roman obedience. The one exception is the essay on "The Vicar of St. Mary's," by the Rev. R. D. Middleton, vicar of St. Margaret's Church, Oxford, which covers the important fifteen year period when Newman, as vicar of the Parish of St. Mary the Virgin, made the university pulpit the medium through which the Tractarian movement affected the religious life of the entire English nation.

The secession of Newman from the Anglican Church to the Roman obedience was indeed a milestone in the history of both communions. To the Roman Catholic Church in England the accession of Newman and of the other Anglican converts who had been associated with him brought fresh vitality, and paved the way for the establishment of the Roman hierarchy in England. To the Church of England, and especially to the adherents of the Oxford movement, the secession of Newman, the most brilliant and attractive spokesman of the movement, came as a great and unsettling shock. But the movement itself went on, rallying around the leadership of the scholarly Dr. Pusey and the gifted Dean Church, outgrowing the purely academic character of its origin, extending its influence to the highways and the byways of rural England and to the slums of the great cities, and literally transforming the outer aspect and the inner life of the entire Anglican Communion within the century that has since elapsed.

Henry Tristram (there is nothing to indicate whether he or any of the other contributors is a priest or a layman) is the editor of this volume. He writes a competent introduction, which brings out clearly the importance of Newman to English-speaking Christianity and the unique personal influence which he exerted over men of the most diverse opinions and temperaments. From his pen comes also a very appealing and revealing essay entitled, "With Newman at Prayer," which incidentally brings out Newman's thoroughly English abhorrence for the excesses of Latin devotions. (Can one imagine Newman having any sympathy with the modern cult of the Sacred Heart?) Two other essays by Tristram tell of an obscure controversy in which Newman in his Anglican days was involved with a French Abbé named Jager—a controversy which bore fruit in Newman's "Lectures on the Prophetical

Office of the Church"—and deal with the output of Newman's pen under the title, "On Reading Newman."

An essay by Denis Gwynn summarizes very effectively Newman's entire career. Essays by H. F. Davis and Douglas Woodruff uphold Newman's orthodoxy as a Roman Catholic and exonerate him (perhaps with too much vehemence) from the accusation that has sometimes been made to the effect that he was the progenitor of later Roman Catholic Modernism and would have been in sympathy with liberal tendencies in the Roman Communion today.

One of the most interesting essays in the book is that by Christopher Hollis on Cardinal Newman and Dean Church. The lifelong friendship and understanding between these two men continuing after Newman's secession is a most attractive and intriguing subject, and is handled by the essayist with a rare degree of fairness and objectivity.

Essays by J. Lewis May, F. V. Reade, Werner Stark, and Geoffrey Tillotson deal adequately with various minor phases of Newman's life and work. But Mr. Middleton's essay on "The Vicar of St. Mary's" is for Anglican readers one of the most valuable in the book. This essay abounds in intimate details of Newman's great Oxford ministry that are not readily available to the average reader, at least in this country. He quotes the tributes that such diverse men as Sir Francis Doyle, Frederick Temple, James Anthony Froude, Matthew Arnold, Dean Lake, and Principal Shairp pay to the incomparable sermons that were preached Sunday after Sunday from the pulpit of St. Mary's. He describes again the unforgettable scene at Littlemore when Newman preached his farewell sermon as an Anglican on "The Parting of Friends."

This reviewer would like to conclude with his own personal tribute to the undying influence of those sermons that were preached from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, more than a hundred years ago. The eight-volume set of the *Parochial and Plain Sermons* which is my treasured possession is an inheritance from the library of my maternal grandfather. My grandfather was a birthright Quaker who became a Methodist during his college days, and lived and died a devoted and consistent member of that connexion. He was a man of grave and austere piety. I have reason to believe that his soul was fed upon the "deep and affecting truths" conveyed through these sermons as, many years after his death, his grandson's soul has been. Compared with the simple directness of these sermons, their felicity of expression, and the profundity of the truth which they contain about God and man, even the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* rings as a bit of special pleading.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Parish,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Retrospect of An Unimportant Life. By Hensley Henson. (Oxford University Press, 1943) two volumes in one.

The title of this autobiography of the retired bishop of Durham is a flagrant example of English understatement. Nay, there is something Uriah Heepish about such a title, for it is thoroughly belied by the 750

pages of virile, racy, often polemical reminiscence and comment that delight, stimulate, and often irritate the reader.

The present reviewer has followed from a distance the career of Dr. Henson for the last thirty-five years, and (it must be confessed) was prone many years ago to think of him as the *enfant terrible* of the English Church, and later as an ecclesiastical gadfly. But he confesses that he puts down Dr. Henson's autobiography with a greatly enhanced respect for its author, and with the feeling that Dr. Henson has made an invaluable contribution to the evaluation of men and movements in the Church of England during the first four decades of this century.

This is indeed a baffling volume to review in the space allowed. Henson's career as a fellow at All Souls' College, Oxford, coincided with the years when Charles Gore and his associates of the *Lux Mundi* school were in their ascendancy, and it was inevitable that he should have been influenced by them, though he reacted early from their influence. At the turn of the century, both Gore and Henson held canonries of Westminster Abbey—and then the divergences between the two men, divergences which brought them into frequent collision and conflict in later years, began to be apparent. Henson (who likened Gore to St. Charles Borromeo) was thoroughly antipathetic to Gore's liberal catholicism, socialism and attempt to reconcile traditional orthodoxy with Biblical criticism. Gore, on the other hand, was equally antipathetic to Henson's desire to make the Church Establishment inclusive of all the Protestant elements in English religious life, his fraternal recognition of Presbyterians and other non-episcopalians, and his contempt for the doctrine of apostolic succession. Worse yet, to Gore Henson was suspect of sitting very loosely to fundamental Christian belief. It was Thomas Arnold and the early Tractarians all over again, with twentieth century variations. The Kikuyu controversy, which arose in 1913 when Bishop Weston of Zanzibar vehemently dissociated himself from the bishops of Uganda and Mombasa (who had communicated with non-episcopalians during an interdenominational missionary conference in East Africa), and the controversy that arose from the publication of *Foundations* in 1912, provoked a considerable pamphlet warfare, to which Henson (at that time dean of Durham) trenchantly contributed his say on the Protestant and liberal side. These controversies revealed irreconcilable differences within the Anglican Establishment and only quieted down when the first World War absorbed everyone's attention.

But when in 1917 Dr. Henson was offered the bishopric of Hereford by Mr. Lloyd-George, a storm of protest arose from the Anglo-Catholics and conservative Evangelicals. "The Hereford Scandal" produced all the familiar manifestations of *odium theologicum* that had come to the surface a generation before, when Frederick Temple was appointed to the episcopate. American churchmen have witnessed the same unlovely phenomena in the circumstances that resulted in the rejections of Seymour and DeKoven after their successive elections as bishop of Illinois. A closer parallel, of course, was the furore that arose when Phillips Brooks was elected bishop of Massachusetts. In Henson's case, as in Brooks', the opposition was unsuccessful, though the victim himself was metaphorically hung, drawn, and quartered. In Hen-

son's case, as in Brooks', the after-event did not justify the dire misgivings that were aroused.

Henson's brief, though not undistinguished, episcopate at Hereford was marked by his strong, but unsuccessful, opposition to the passage of the Enabling Act, which he felt threatened the national character of the Church and played into the hands of the Anglo-Catholic party. In 1920 he was translated to the diocese of Durham, the fourth ranking see of the English hierarchy. The second volume of the autobiography, drawing copiously upon the private journal which the bishop kept for many years, is given over to the Durham episcopate from 1920 to Dr. Henson's retirement in 1938. Here we have inside views of the author's participation in the Lambeth Conferences of 1920 and 1930, his strong advocacy of the Revised Prayer Book both in the Church Assembly and in the House of Lords, his *volte face* regarding the Establishment and his advocacy of disestablishment in the interest of the spiritual autonomy of the Church, following upon the rejection of the Revised Prayer Book by the House of Commons, and his attitude toward the problems of economic dislocation that were so acute during these years among the miners of his diocese. Here we see the bishop of Durham forwarding inter-communion with the Church of Sweden by participating with Archbishop Soederblom in the consecration of a Swedish bishop, fulminating against the approaches to Rome through the Malines conversations, and protesting vigorously the invitation given the distinguished Unitarian, Dr. L. P. Jacks, to speak from the pulpit of Liverpool Cathedral—a protest which cleared up once for all any suspicion of Henson's own unsoundness on the doctrine of the Incarnation. Here we see his reactions to the death of George V and to the abdication of Edward VIII. Here we share his prejudices against Buchmanism and against American ecclesiastics (though he was very favorably impressed by Bishop Hobson of Southern Ohio). Here we enjoy his candid and oft-times piquant estimates of men prominent in Church and State. And here, too, we glimpse a strong and capable bishop administering his diocese and serving faithfully and well as *pastor pastorum* and as Father in God to all the people within his jurisdiction. Hensley Henson may not rank in sanctity with Cosin and Moule. His scholarship may not compare with that of Butler, Lightfoot and Westcott. But we doubt not that posterity will accord him a place second to none of his predecessors as a strong and worthy Bishop of Durham.

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*Trinity Parish,
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THE CHURCH IN U. S. A.

[From *The Guardian*]

1930-1940. *An Encouraging Decade for the Episcopal Church.* By W. H. Stowe, S. T. D. Foreword by the Bishop of Michigan. Philadelphia. Church Historical Society, 4205 Spruce Street.

This valuable booklet is a reprint of an article in the Historical Magazine of the American Church. It is good to read in the Foreword

that "the Episcopal Church has an appeal for everyone," and that it does "by its genius and character commend itself." "Dr. Stowe," the bishop writes, "glories in the comprehensive character of our Church, not in its appeal to people of one race and tradition. But, being a statistician, he faces facts and reveals them in a study which is both informative and challenging."

English Church people will probably be surprised to learn that the Episcopal Church in America has always grown faster than the population. We wish we could say the same of our Church in England. The last ten years in America has been a period of especial encouragement. "The population of the United States, dependent for the first time in its history upon the native birth rate alone, increased by 7.24 per cent, the lowest rate of increase in the records. The Church's communicants increased 14.0 per cent, almost twice that of the population increase." There is a net gain of 5.7 ratio points in ten years, with almost no immigration, compared with a net gain of less than 5 points in the preceding 30 years during the period of heavy immigration. "It is this favourable condition, which will improve even more with the passing of time, which warrants our calling the last decennial period 'An encouraging decade.'"

Dr. Stowe's pamphlet is indispensable for the study of the Episcopal Church in America.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

A CHART OF CHURCH HISTORY

[From *The Guardian*]

Epitome of the History of the Holy Catholic Church. By W. H. Stowe, S. T. D. Publication No. 17 of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.

This chart should be extremely useful to those engaged in the teaching of Church history. The most notable events within and without the Church in its long and wonderful history are given, together with dates, almost down to the present time. Another edition might with advantage show the present connexion of the Orthodox Church with our own, and also that of the Old Catholic Church. It would be better to speak of the separation of East and West rather than to use the word "schism." Members of our Church who teach the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Immaculate Conception will not care for the chart. Doubtless copies for the use of students could be obtained from The Church Historical Society, 4205 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 4, U. S. A. Dr. Stowe has done a good piece of work.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch. Newly Translated and Annotated By James A. Kleist, S. J. Westminster, Maryland, The Newman Bookshop. ix, 162 pages. \$2.50.

This is the first volume of a new series, *Ancient Christian Writers*; works of the Fathers in English translation, issued by the Catholic University of America, under the general editorship of Dr. Johannes Quasten and Dr. Joseph C. Plumpe. And this initial volume augurs well for the excellence of the series. For the most part Father Van Kleist, an expert in Hellenistic Greek, is an ideal translator who turns the original into clear, vigorous English; only occasionally using a somewhat too "heavy" style as in "extirpate the lawless passion of your jealousy" (Clement 63:2). And the very full notes are for the most part models of objective interpretation; far and away the best that we have in English. Naturally, Father Van Kleist does not write without theological presuppositions which carry him into an occasional carelessness, as when he says that "Clement . . . is astonishingly familiar with the whole New Testament" (page 104) or conjectures that Saint Paul visited Tralles and Philadelphia (page 55). Or when he identifies the Judaizers of Ignatius with the Apostle's Jewish adversaries (page 57); Saint Paul had no quarrel with Jewish Christians who lived according to the Law if they did not try to impose legalism on the Gentiles. Father Van Kleist, moreover, is convinced that Clement knows three orders, bishops, presbyters and deacons, in the Christian ministry (page 112), although on the same page he writes that to Clement "*episkopos* and *presbuteros* are still synonymous."

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

General Theological Seminary,
New York City.

He Lives. By Austin Pardue, Bishop of Pittsburgh, New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1946. Pp. 105.

This little book is designed to comfort and reassure those who have lost their loved ones. It serves its purpose admirably. The brief chapters cover, among other subjects, Paradise, Purgatory, Hell, Heaven, the Communion of Saints, the ministry of angels, Communication with the Departed, with a warning against resort to professional mediums. Not the least helpful parts of the book are those reciting the writer's experience in ministering to the dying and the bereaved. It should be in the hands of every parish minister.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The Faith of the Episcopal Church. By Frank Damrosch. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1946. Pp. 146.

An excellent manual for those who are interested in Religion but know little about it. It points to the Church which provides a way of faith, of prayer, of sacraments which combined offer a way of life. The chapter on the structure of the Episcopal Church is particularly good.

E. C. C.

They Found the Church There. By Henry P. Van Dusen. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 145.

A sequel to the author's *What Is the Church Doing?* It is a collection of the experiences of servicemen in the Pacific islands who quite unexpectedly discovered for themselves Christian natives and gained a new conception of missionary work. The key to the book is found in a letter a serviceman wrote his mother: "Dear Mom: Because of missions I was feasted and not feasted upon when I fell from the sky into this village." Just the kind of book to put into the hands of people who do not believe in foreign missions.

E. C. C.

Tips to Teachers. By Vernon McMaster. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1946. Pp. 99.

Out of a wealth of experience Mr. McMaster has written a practical and fascinating book which should be in the hands of all who are interested in Sunday Schools. It takes the unusual form of a series of conferences held by a parish priest with a small group whom he had selected as possible teachers in his Sunday School. Meeting once a week they freely discussed the purpose and art of teaching. In the beginning they were rather shocked at the idea of becoming Sunday School teachers. They ended by becoming enthusiastic. It would be a good thing if our rectors read it in teachers' meetings for the nine weeks covered by the chapters, and, better still, getting the teachers to discuss it.

E. C. C.

The Anatomy of the Saints. By Richardson Wright. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 1946. Pp. 116.

A series of Addresses delivered by a layman at a leadership training week-end conference in the Diocese of Western Massachusetts. It is marked by profound spiritual insight; searching and stimulating and clothed in beautiful language.

E. C. C.

Ministers of Christ. By Walter Lowrie. Louisville: Cloister Press. 1946. ix, 113 pages.

Apostolic Succession at the Bar of Modern Scholarship. By Felix Cirlot. Holy Cross Press. 1946. 77 pages.

These two little books, published almost simultaneously, complement each other in thesis, method and style. Dr. Lowrie's thesis is "that it cannot be claimed of any system of Church government in vogue

today . . . that it is '*jure divino*.'" Dr. Cirlot's thesis is that precisely this can be claimed of the episcopal system. Dr. Lowrie's method is only partly historical and he lays his chief emphasis on things as they are; we cannot deny that the clergy of the non-episcopal churches are true "ministers of Christ" in the fullest sense of the words; that they are truly a sacerdotal priesthood, even though they reject such a title. Dr. Cirlot's method is purely historical; so Scripture and the earliest tradition have taught and so we must believe. In style Dr. Lowrie writes with a mellow gentleness based on sympathies as broad as his experience and his reading. Dr. Cirlot writes in the style of a barrister speaking to his brief, whose duty is to interpret the admitted facts so as to support his case directly or to explain them as at least innocuous to that case.

In comparing the two arguments there can be no doubt that the facts of history are stated much more fully and generally more accurately by Dr. Cirlot. Dr. Lowrie's use of Hippolytus is—to speak frankly—bewildering. On page 58 he tells us that the evidence of Hippolytus shows that the consecration of a bishop by the local presbyters can no longer be thought to be a custom limited to Alexander. But as a matter of fact Hippolytus says the exact opposite; that only bishops share in the consecration "and the presbytery stand by in silence." And he adds that at the ordination of a presbyter, where presbyters join with the bishop in the laying on of hands, only the bishop "ordains" and the presbyters merely "seal"; "the presbyter has no authority to give holy orders" (Dix's translation, which Dr. Lowrie apparently does not know). And, incidentally, Hippolytus, past doubt, regarded himself as not only "a bishop in Rome," but as the sole legitimate bishop of Rome; he described his opponents as not a church of Christians, but "a school of Callistians."

A perhaps more serious error appears in Dr. Lowrie's reconstruction of New Testament polity; his neglect of the continuity between the first Christian presbyters and the Jewish elders. The presbyters were not originally the older men of the community, who, by virtue of their age, took the leadership in pastoral and liturgical duties. In Acts and the Pastoral Epistles they are ordained officials, with exactly the same functions as their Jewish counterparts; the ordination prayers for presbyters in Hippolytus, Sarapion and the Constitutions agree in tracing the origin of the office back not to Christ but to Moses. And at first *episkopoi* and *presbuteroi* do not describe different offices or duties, but are precise synonyms (e. g., Acts 20:17, 28), the former word being clearer to Greek ears than the latter, which outside of Palestine (and Egypt) mean simply "old men."

Dr. Cirlot, on his part, notes the resemblance between Jewish elders and Christian presbyters, but then lets the matter drop. The continuity bears, however, more than he realizes on the problem of valid ordination by presbyters. The later evidence, which he summarizes fairly enough, he treats, (as did Gore) by saying that if the practice ever existed it proves only that these presbyters were ordained with the explicit intention of giving them power to ordain, making them virtually non-monarchical bishops; since those days this intention ceased and subsequent presbyters, therefore, had—and have—no ordaining power. But

he does not do proper justice to I Timothy 4:14, where the true ordaining power of presbyters is unequivocally asserted as a matter of course. And the continuity of the office from Judaism would make this a matter of course, for a Jewish layman was ordained an elder "by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," just as today in orthodox Judaism a layman is ordained a rabbi by the laying on the hands of a "presbytery" formed by rabbis. And it is an uncritical use of the Pastoral Epistles to insist that 1 Timothy 4:14 must have been written with 2 Timothy 1:6 (or its substance) in mind; still more uncritical to read back the theory of Hippolytus into the former passage and to make it say that the presbyters only "seal" what some unmentioned higher official effects. As Dr. Lowrie very justly observes (page 53) "if [the presbyters] accomplished nothing by the laying on of their hands, they might as well have kept their hands in their pockets and left the whole transaction to the Apostle." In other words, the New Testament asserts that presbyters have by the fact of their office power to ordain.

A further analysis of Dr. Cirlot's treatise may be dispensed with at present for two reasons. One reason is the fact that his argument as it now stands follows Gore's so closely that it is familiar to all students of the subject. The other reason is that he states in his preface that it is a merely preliminary sketch of a much more elaborate book he has in preparation; until his full case is before us, criticism may be premature.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

*The General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Towards Christian Democracy. By Sir Stafford Cripps. New York: Philosophical Library. 1946. Pp. 101.

Here is a simple exposition of obvious truths. Now and then it is worth while to refresh ourselves with a clear outline of obvious, but neglected, truths. And when a brilliant layman, Great Britain's President of the Board of Trade, presents them with a sense of urgency, we would do well to listen.

He writes in the last year of the War, and knowing it is won, writes for the future. The publishers call the volume the "only straight path left to an atom-endangered world." It is an old path, grown old with disuse.

He faces the fact that the Church, and he means all organized Churches, Christianity itself, has been of small importance in shaping world events. Too much emphasis has been placed on attaining personal salvation. This liberal statesman pleads for an intense insistence on establishment of the rule of God here on earth. The Church has kept people blind to social responsibilities; it must turn and encourage the daily practice of faith in social, economic and political spheres. The rule of God is destined to come here on earth, and if the Church fails to bring it, God will turn to another agency.

He reminds us of the failure of the Church after World War I. The hopes of the World Alliance faded when the Roman Catholics refused to participate. The majority of the clergy in general were apathetic; they were too immersed in local parish problems to lift their eyes to world moral and spiritual leadership. This condition still continues. And now the Church faces the added challenge to bring moral and spiritual progress into line with our terrible material progress in the weapons of destruction.

The Church must enter political and economic life in the sense that it insists upon the application of Christian principles in these spheres. Ownership of private property, which gives one individual power over another, must be abolished, and the property placed in the hands of a democratically controlled state. The author believes it must come; that it will bring the kingdom closer.

We may not agree with this particular program, but we must believe that religion must not be merely a Sunday pastime, but a daily experience.

The author pays fine tribute to the amazing cooperation and self-sacrifice during the period of the war and pleads for the exercise of the same qualities to bring about the much needed social changes. The Church must inspire people to reach the same heights of sacrifice. Sir Stafford Cripps is a Christian, but perhaps he does not realize how completely pagan our so-called Christian countries are. Yet he urges the Church to experience "the violent infection of Christianity that struck some of our forbears." Perhaps he is too sure that the kingdom will be here on earth when poverty and ignorance are eliminated. A well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed people may not thereby be a more Christian people. But has not the Church too frequently erred in the opposite direction, a blind refusal to see that a Christian democracy, religion in everyday life, is a most vital demand?

LOCKETT H. BALLARD.

FORTHCOMING HISTORICAL BOOKS

Milestones and Memories of the Berkley Divinity School, 1849-1889.
By Melville Knox Bailey.

It will cover the period of the founding of the school by Bishop John Williams to his death. Mr. Bailey graduated from Trinity College in 1879. He is ninety years old.

History of Calvary Church, Pittsburgh, Pa. By Mr. E. J. Edsall.

History of the Church of the Heavenly Rest and the Chapel of the Beloved Disciple in the City and Diocese of New York. By E. Clowes Chorley.

To be published in March, 1947, in connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Rev. Henry Darlington, D. D., rector of the parish.

The Life of Lucien Lee Kinsolving, Bishop of Brazil. By his brother, the Rev. A. B. Kinsolving.

The following books and pamphlets on American Church History have been sent to the MAGAZINE:

The History of Calvary Church, Pittsburgh, Pa. By E. J. Edsall.

The Golden Jubilee Issue of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Yonkers, N. Y.

Two Hundred Years of Old Trinity. 1746-1946. Published by Trinity Cathedral of the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, New Jersey. 1946.

A Chronicle of the Church of the Ascension, Mount Vernon, N. Y. Fiftieth Anniversary. 1946.

Pamphlet. *A Descriptive Guide of Calvary Church, Pittsburgh, Pa.*

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